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A Weekly Review of Literature, The Arts and Public Affairs

Friday, February 11, 1938

## PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

F. A. Hermens

**LECTURING** Agnes Repplier

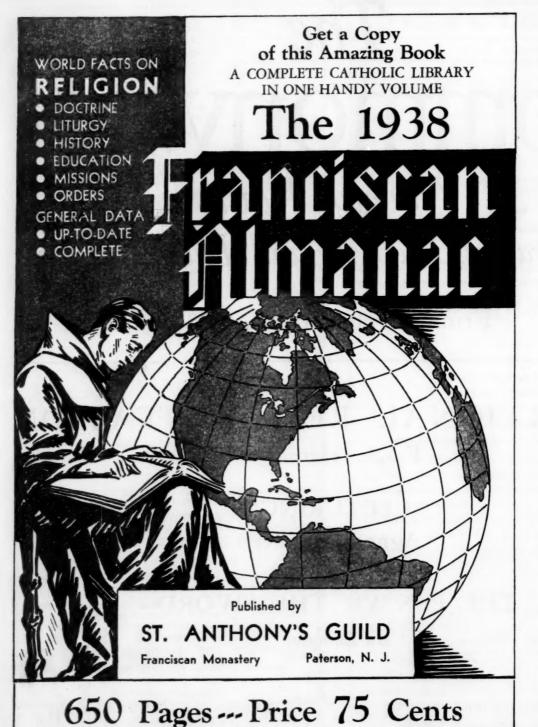
THE PEN VS. THE SWORD

An Editorial

Other articles and reviews by E. L. Chicanot, Abel Bonnard, Francis B. Thornton, John Kenneth Merton, Francis E. McMahon, Gerald Allard, Ross Hoffman, Geoffrey Stone and Charles A. Hart

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# Commonweal Commonweal

A Weekly Review of Literature, The Arts and Public Affairs

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## Friday, February 11, 1938

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## THE PEN VS. THE SWORD

PAUL VAN ZEELAND'S report and President Roosevelt's armament message serve to focus world attention upon this grave question: Can international economic rehabilitation win the race against militaristic destruction?

A great many serious students of international affairs agree with George Fort Milton, Special Assistant to the Secretary of State, that there can be no hope for a valid and enduring peace in the modern world unless there shall come to it a general and pervasive prosperity.

Prosperity does not mean the quick profits of a stock market speculator, nor the illusory enrichment of one class or one country out of the toil and privation of another. The true meaning of prosperity is that every social group, every nation, shall have the opportunity to secure a sufficient fund of goods and services for the adequate minimal satisfactions of its people. Can there be a pervasive prosperity? Most

assuredly. Raw materials and machines exist. Technical skills are abundant. All that is needed, in addition, is so to adapt our social machinery that it can and will transform a potential plenty into a real one. One word of caution is necessary. Plenty cannot come by isolation. Within a nation, no region or group can attain so great an economic prosperity and a political stability by insulating itself against all other regions and groups as it can by a whole-hearted and determined cooperation with them. In this same way, no nation can gain nearly so much from the shining pride of isolation as it can from active association in the great family of nations.

The natural resources, the employment of which is indispensable to maintaining modern standards of living, Dr. Milton recently pointed out, are unevenly distributed over the surface of the globe. Inventions, technology and labor skills develop in different countries at different paces. These and

other related facts of economic development make it plain that only by nourishing among themselves a mutually useful interchange of goods and services, only by learning from each other's experiences, can the nations secure those tremendous benefits which arise from having access to the resources of the whole world and to the genius of all mankind. The individual nation expands and enriches its own life only in the measure in which it shares with the community of nations, as well as adds to, its resources—not alone material but likewise intellectual, ethical and spiritual.

This is the very heart of the international relations program of the United States—as viewed by our State Department. The significance of Mr. Van Zeeland's report is that it tries to give immediate and practical application to what we are accustomed to call the Good Neighbor policy.

The former Premier of Belgium urges the participation of the United States, Great Britain, France, Germany and Italy in an international pact of economic collaboration of the widest possible membership. Specific recommendations include a general tariff truce, to be followed by a gradual reduction of tariff duties of exceptional character having more than average incidence; most-favored-nation treatment of all international trade, with exceptions permissible to combat discrimination and "dumping," as well as to regularize special regional trade agreements; suppression of industrial quotas, but, possibly, retention of agricultural quotas dealing with seasonal problems; and the establishment of an international monetary standard, to be followed by gradual elimination of exchange controls and clearing agreements, adjustment of external debts and clearing of international trade accounts through the Bank for International Settlements.

Mr. Van Zeeland emphasized the fact that international trade is not an end in itself but only a means directed toward an end. This end is the improvement of the standard of life of the masses, the increase of the well-being of the population. Under our present organization this end is pursued by national entities.

"Here," he declared, "we reach the heart of the problem. In order to diminish the obstacles to international trade and to restore to it a degree of flexibility which will allow of its development, it is necessary in particular to induce many countries to mitigate or to abandon the measures of protective self-sufficiency which they have adopted in different degrees and at different times, and to return to a more complete system based on the international division of labor. But these measures of national protection were not resorted to lightly or frivolously, and if the countries protected by them still retain today the armor which they felt bound to put on, it is not without serious reasons. We must therefore make our dispositions in

such a way that the new system shall offer to all participators advantages greater than those of the position in which they now find themselves; and at the same time that the transition from one system to the other may be brought about without danger, and even with immediate advantage."

We are unable to predict at this early date how the statesmen of Europe and the United States will react to the Van Zeeland program. We can only say that if statesmen will not correct the blunders of the past, will not put an end to the economic war now raging, will not bring about that real catholic prosperity which has already been described, the war departments of the world powers will soon seek some kind of solution on the battlefield. And this brings us to what seems to be the only alternative to Mr. Van Zeeland's proposals—an armament race in which the United States is now an active member and which, in our opinion, will only hasten the advent of Armageddon.

Mr. Roosevelt called for authorizations to provide \$8,800,000 in army anti-aircraft material. of which all but \$2,000,000 would be appropriated for the fiscal year 1939; appropriation of \$450,000 for creating an army enlisted reserve: authorization of \$6,080,000 for arms-fabricating tools, of which \$5,000,000 would be appropriated for the fiscal year 1939; appropriation of \$2,000,-000 for acquiring more army ammunition; a 20percent increase in naval building authorizations; appropriation for laying down in the present calendar year two more battleships and two cruisers; appropriation of up to \$15,000,000 for new types of small ships and the preparation of plans for other types of ships; and legislation for the elimination of war profiteering and the equalization of war burdens.

In the United States and in practically every other nation in the world armament competition, everywhere heralded as a defensive measure, assumes gigantic and terrible proportions. The militaristic idea and the economic idea are at opposite poles. The one would accomplish its purposes by destruction, the other by construction. The one would tear down; the other would build up.

We must not abandon hope that an equitable solution of international problems will somehow be found. We must not yield to the fear that the nations will be so busy preparing for war that they will have no time to search for peace. Above all, we must rid ourselves of the most tragic of illusions — that peace comes through wishful thinking. All nations, including the United States, are in some measure to blame for the present evil state of things. What is needed is a voluntary reversal of those autarchic tendencies which, if permitted to go unchecked, will eventually involve every nation in a common catastrophe.

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## Week by Week

THE ANTI-LYNCHING BILL, having suffered one serious blow when the Senate, by a vote of 51 to 37, rejected cloture of debate, was

temporarily shelved to permit examination of the conference report The on the Wagner-Steagall Housing Trend of Bill which has already received Events House approval. An early report

on an ever-normal granary farm measure is expected. Sixty members of Congress, including Senator Nye, prominent advocate of an American policy of strict neutrality, signed a fantastic statement in which greetings and good wishes were extended to the Loyalist Parliament in Spain which was alleged to be fighting "to save the democratic institutions of your young republic from its enemies both within and without Spain." We deplore the fact that representatives of our government should have made it possible for the propaganda bureau of the Loyalist embassy in Washington to spread abroad such a blatant piece of humbug. If the signers know as little about conditions in this country as they have demonstrated they know about conditions in Spain, there is reason for grave concern about the future of our own democratic institutions. We were also depressed by the inauguration of the American Legion drive for general pensions for widows and orphans of all World War veterans, regardless of the cause of death of the veteran. A widow was defined as a person married to a veteran prior to July 3, 1941, "or having married a veteran has lived with him for a period of three years next preceding the veteran's death or having married a veteran has surviving issue of said veteran and who has not remarried." We condemn this contemplated plunder of the public funds and hope that the rest of the nation will instil sufficient courage into members of Congress to defeat this undemocratic measure promptly and with finality.

THE UNEASY relationship between government and business became much clearer during the

days that followed the President's Government statement stressing his opposition to wage cuts. It became apparent Business that many of the journalistic spokesmen for business had all

along interpreted government collaboration as meaning government help in peacefully reducing the earnings of labor. It would perhaps have been naive not to have realized this from the beginning, and it surely would have been naive of men thinking that way to believe they could get outright government assistance in an attack on wage levels. The deep scepticism of the conserva-

tive press about government-business harmony has had a very sound causal basis. But there are other elements in political economy besides wage rates. Despair of harmony should be delayed at least until business and the Congress and administration have formulated more definitely their respective—and not a priori incompatible—policies on such matters as tax revision, credit, banking, security marketing, financial control, price agreements, utility regulation and farm-industrial relationships. Offhand, one would expect almost complete disagreement in all these affairs, but not necessarily absolute disagreement. That would leave something, however slight, to be harmonious about, and furthermore, a broader, more reasonable and more sympathetic basis for unfortunate variance, and a variance between which citizens could make more enlightened choices.

THE AMERICA SPANISH RELIEF FUND will soon be established on a national basis to aid

orphaned children and destitute, sick and injured non-combatant vic-Spanish tims of the Civil War in Spain. Relief Affiliates are being formed in thirty dioceses. Twenty-seven prominent

clergymen and laymen have agreed to serve on a national committee which is being formed to confer with local diocesan and civic committees. All funds collected will be sent to Cardinal Goma y Tomas, Archbishop of Toledo and Primate of all Spain. The need of relief at this time for noncombatant victims of the Spanish Civil War, particularly orphaned, needy and sick children, is very great. THE COMMONWEAL is happy to participate in this vitally necessary humanitarian movement.

ON THE eve of their February 2 meeting in Washington, the "little business men" seemed

Little

to be thinking most practically about cheap credit from the federal government, via the useful R.F.C. This central interest in Business getting credit seems to show one of

two conditions, both of which are often stoutly denied. Either there is some sort of central control of credit unfriendly to small companies, or else small companies have a relatively (compared with "big business" which gets more satisfactory accommodation) as well as absolutely hard time keeping themselves in the category of practical business risk. Probably both of these alternative conditions are to an appreciable extent with us. It would be a lot easier to open fair credit channels than to create relative prosperity for little business. The government alone can certainly not do the latter. It would take a whole sociological movement of the country, involving individuals,

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t evil ntary ch, if volve private and public groups, local and central governments: decentralization and distributism. In New York City, W. Averill Harriman, chairman of the Union Pacific and of the Business Advisory Council of the Department of Commerce, urged one practical private detail to help toward a start. He wants industries to move their headquarters away from New York back to their local centers of production. He demanded that business men analyze the concentration of control in New York and then "either justify it or else change it." It is efforts of this kind that can have a much more direct, surer and more harmonious effect on society than laws of the federal government.

THE TERM "humor" is taken by those who have thought a great deal about the subject to cover many other things besides

We Still Awaitcover many other things besides the broadly farcical or the whimsically amusing. The grim, the mordant, even the tragic if it involves a certain ironic discrepancy

and contrast, are held to come under its coverage. However, it is very hard, even with the world of parallels thus offered to one's choice, to find a match for what is going on in Russia today. In the root conflict between the professed ideal of democracy and the confessed technique of personality-obliteration and mass-murder adopted to further that idea, there are hints of the subjectmatter made immortal in the "Modest Proposal" and the "Shortest Way with Dissenters." But it is a question whether even Swift, whose stabbing arm was seemingly never shortened, or even Defoe, whose all-inclusive mind was never too full to take in another phenomenon-whether even the deadly aim of these two would transfix contemporary Soviet history with a simple and sufficing phrase. For whatever happens in Russia, there is always the accompanying fact of what will be thought and said about it by Russia's friends on the outside; or perhaps one should write, what will not be thought and what will not be said. That is the most astounding item in the whole business—the reaction, or lack of it, on the periphery. It is not true, of course, that the savage intensity of the latest purges has left all the Soviet-minded outside of Russia unmoved; as the horrors pile up, a definite movement away from the millenniel obsession may be seen, for instance, in many newspapers. But it is true that a large section of the intellectuals in this country and England still "have nothing to say." They continue eagerly to anatomize the nationalist tyrannies to the south of Russia; but they meet whatever happens in the earthly paradise by a bland and disingenuous silence. Mr. Harold Denny adds currently to his invaluable dispatch in the New York Times by an account of the Soviet Attorney-General's excoriation of many of these trials. But we would lay something handsome that even this will make no difference here. Mr. Vishinsky may charge that 25 percent of the trials lack foundation, and may detail the gross neglect of court and prison officials which results in constant and serious miscarriages of justice. But we still await some echo of this indignation and anxiety from any representative number of Leftists among the democracies of the West.

NEARLY a hundred years ago, Orestes Brownson expressed the opinion that the secular press makes readers, but does little to make virtuous and intelligent readers. It echoes and exaggerates popular errors, he pointed out, and

does little or nothing to create a sound public opinion. Popular literature, he declared, "caters to popular taste, passions, prejudices, ignorance and errors. It is by no means above the average degree of virtue and intelligence which already obtains, and can do nothing to create a higher standard of virtue or tone of thought." We do not propose to examine the extent to which these observations may justly be applied to the secular press and to popular literature today. Brownson's remarks, however, serve to emphasize the necessity of supporting the free religious press which is striving to maintain and defend Christian standards in the collection and dissemination of news, and is laboring to inculcate in all our people those priniples of decency which, if applied generally in the field of popular literature, would do much to decrease the profit in pornography.

WHEN earth's last picture is painted, and all the returns are in, we think that one serious indict-

Nature's Tricks ment may fairly be made. It is clear that Nature is not all she is cracked up to be; and the animal kingdom may with propriety allege how often and how disastrously

she led them astray. How many birds freeze yearly because nature sets the wrong date for flight! How many browsing animals starve because she sends them to the wrong feeding places! And what trick of Nature led a Pacific seal recently to wander inland where he would slowly perish away from his natural element? He was found three miles from the coast, in a pasture, making a loud, complaining noise but working steadily eastward. He was turned about with some difficulty and guided back to where he belonged, but it was a long, slow trek-hindered by the growing crowd, which insisted on celebrating the victory by flag-waving, whistle-blowing and cheering. But at last the seal shot back gratefully into the waters of San Francisco Bay; whereat, doubtless, Nature grimly turned her attention elsewhere.

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## PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

By F. A. HERMENS

THE PRICE of liberty is vigilance. Those who cherish democracy should be watchful lest they inadvertently lose it. Strangely enough most dangers to democracy come at the present time from those who sincerely believe themselves to be its friends. To their way of thinking democracy means absolute liberty of the individual, whose rights are not linked with corresponding duties. They hold that they improve democratic institutions whenever they increase the range of individual freedom, whereas they overlook the fact that absolute liberty means anarchy. Since anarchy is not a workable state of society, a dictator will step in as soon as authority is dissolved and take over the reins of government.

Few will challenge the premise that if democracy is to survive it must combine liberty with authority. It is no less evident that to all intents and purposes Proportional Representation is an institutional embodiment of the belief that in a democracy no limits must be placed upon the rights of the individual. Democracy can reconcile liberty with authority only by subjecting the minority to the will of the majority. P.R. denies this. Its logic implies that the seats of a parliamentary body must be distributed among all candidates in proportion to the number of votes obtained by them, no matter whether they are able to constitute a majority or not. The practical aspect of this problem is that P.R. does not require the voters to group themselves in majorities and that, therefore, it will sooner or later produce a collection of minorities which are unable to constitute a majority.

Against this an objection will be raised which the French Socialist, Victor Considérant, made about a hundred years ago. According to him the first task of parliaments is to deliberate, and de-liberation must be "complete." For this purpose all political groups in a country must be represented in parliament in proportion to their strength in the electorate, "including the most absurd ones, even the most monstrous ones." This result can be achieved only by P.R., since the majority system would exclude too many groups from representation. After the deliberation is over, parliament must make a decision and to this end the majority principle must obtain. The argument, however, is undemocratic because it takes the power to make decisions out of the hands of the electorate and passes it over to parliament. It is, further, unrealistic because P.R. makes for the rise of a new type of party. These parties have a radical program which in their view is sanctified by their "world outlook." In the name of this "world outlook" they lead a kind of holy war against each other in the course of which they do not hesitate to substitute bludgeon and revolver for the rational arguments of peaceful deliberation.

Let us examine the record. P.R. was introduced in Italy in 1919, and it took just a little over three years before it had disintegrated the political life of the country to such an extent that the situation was ripe for dictatorship. At the elections of 1919, P.R. produced what, since Walter Bagehot, many writers had predicted, and what later became known under the name of "pluralism." A great number of parties appeared in the field. Under a majority system several consolidated groups would in every constituency have had to cooperate for the purpose of winning the elec-Out of this electoral cooperation there would have resulted cooperation in Parliament as it had done in the Italian Parliament before the war. P.R., however, gave the various parties the "New Freedom" of which its adherents are so proud. The parties, great and small, came to Parliament without being tied to each other by a common electorate. Consequently they pursued their own pet ideas, refusing to yield an inch when they were asked for cooperation. None of them was strong enough to do what it wanted; some of them, however, were powerful enough to prevent the others from securing what they The result was what one well-known authority described as "parliamentary paralysis."

In 1921, Giolitti dissolved this unruly Parliament, only to find that he had "jumped from the frying pan into the fire." The Parliament which was then elected had at its Right 36 Fascists and at its Left 15 Communists. Even a superficial glance at electoral statistics shows that under a majority system these parties would scarcely have obtained any seats at all; in practically every constituency they were too weak to hope for a majority. Once in Parliament they flouted the idea of deliberation and obstructed the work of the democratic groups as best they could. The formation of a government became increasingly difficult, and in February, 1932, the Premiership had to be entrusted to Facta. The reason was not that he was the strongest but that he was the weakest man available, none of the parties upon whose support the government counted having to be afraid of the authority which he might be able to wield.

His Cabinet was an object of contempt all over the country and he had to overcome several crises,

which weakened his position to such an extent that any attempt to curb the raging civil war was out of the question. On August 26, his ministers resigned once more. When two days later Mussolini's Black Shirts marched on Rome there was no government capable of defending democratic liberties, and the King refused to sign the decree establishing martial law. Victor Emmanuel would never have done so had the Prime Minister been backed by a government supported by a majority.

Hitler's victory is even more clearly due to P.R. than the triumph of Mussolini. The material for the proof of this assertion is overwhelming; lack of space restricts me to a limited selection. The history of the Weimar republic falls into three stages. The first is the National Assembly of 1919-1920; the second is the period of "pluralistic" stagnation between 1920 and 1930; and the third the revolutionary overthrow of the existent party line-up, between 1930 and 1933, by which

this stagnation was overcome.

In the National Assembly the Socialists under a majority system would probably have obtained an absolute majority of seats and the history of the republic would have opened with a one-party government. Many people might have been afraid of such a contingency but we must not forget that the majority system would have eliminated most of the Left-wing Socialists from the political scene, and the party would have been as moderate as it was when it enjoyed power alone before the meeting of the National Assembly. Nevertheless, in the National Assembly there still was a reliable democratic majority consisting of Socialists, Democrats and the Center party.

The elections for the first Reichstag of the German Republic, however, produced the "republic without republicans," for which German democracy has been ridiculed so often but which P.R. would under similar circumstances have produced in other countries. The old Weimar coalition no longer had a majority. The Independent Socialists at the Left and the growing number of Nationalists at the Right prevented that. The majority system would not have allowed these extremist groups to grow so strong. As it was, Germany had to start with the experiment of minority government, and future governments lacked the organic strength they needed.

The parties which later profited from P.R. were the Communists, the National Socialists, the various interest groups, and some minor parties. There can be no doubt that with a majority system there would have been no room for the interest groups, and the other parties of a more or less negligible strength. The percentage of votes with which they obtained their seats was too small. Nevertheless, they have given many a headache to the leaders of republican governments in Germany. Similarly Communists and National

Socialists would under a majority system have severely suffered from the fact that most of their votes were scattered all over the country. The Communists possessed some local strongholds where they might have elected some candidates even under a majority system. They would have numbered less than a dozen, and thus the Communists could not seriously have disturbed the work of the Reichstag. The National Socialists were even less lucky. Their strength between 1924 and 1930 was so small that they never held any hopes of obtaining a seat. Probably a succession of electoral failures would have been fatal to the party. P.R. allowed it to survive, and at the election of 1930 the Nazis succeeded, in coalition with the Communists, in mustering strength sufficient to make the normal working of government machinery impossible. This success was not due to the popularity of the principles of either of the extremist groups.

The world economic crisis had set in, and it produced a huge protest vote in Germany as well as in other countries of the world. However, in England, in France and in the United States the majority system existed and it forced the protest vote into the frame of the existing big democratic opposition groups. A vote recorded for extremist groups, such as for the Socialists in the U. S. A., would have meant a vote "thrown away." In Germany P.R. allowed the protest vote to swell the forces of the extremists in the Reichstag. However, if we divide the territory of the Reich into 400 single-member constituencies of equal size Hitler's candidates obtained in none of them the absolute majority, nor even 40 percent of the votes. Under a majority system this would have practically destroyed their chances. On the other hand, the position of the Socialists and of the Center party was comparatively strong, and we can only conclude that even at this late stage they would under a majority system have inflicted a smashing defeat upon the opponents of democracy.

Things being what they were in the fall of 1930, all remaining democratic groups had to be called upon for the purpose of "tolerating" the govern-ment of Dr. Bruening. This majority extended from the moderate Monarchists to the Socialists, and it was as fragile as it was artificial. It was bound to become increasingly unpopular because the democratic parties had now a monopoly of responsibility and the extremists a monopoly of the opposition. It was natural that, with the misery of the economic crisis going on, the voters continued to transfer their votes to the opposition. This opposition now consisted in the main of National Socialists and Communists. In 1932, the combination of these two parties obtained a majority, and thereafter no hope remained of operating the machinery of government in a democratic way. A dictatorship was inevitable. It

have might have been a dictatorship of Schleicher as their well as a dictatorship of Hitler, but events decided The in favor of Hitler, and it did not take him long to holds do away with a state of political anarchy which dates have Comd the alists ween held

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P.R. had created in Germany. Of course, he did it so thoroughly that the voter had no longer a chance to revoke his decision, and to remind him that what he wanted was not to abdicate his functions, but to exert them in a more efficient way. Austria was the next on the list of victims of

P.R. If this country had possessed the majority system, then one of the two great parties of the Catholics and the Socialists would always have had a majority; there would have existed no diffi-The first culty in carrying on the government. result of P.R. was to lead to the rise of the two comparatively small parties of the Agrarians and the "Great Germans," which created a host of difficulties to all Austrian governments. The real problem arose after 1930, when National Socialism was increasing by leaps and bounds in Germany. In the Austrian National Council of 1930 there were no National Socialists. However, this Parliament had no clear majority and in an atmosphere of confusion it voted its own dissolution.

It is characteristic of the prevailing state of affairs that it did not dare to fix a date for the dissolution to become effective. New elections would have given about one-third of all seats to the National Socialists, and then the government of the moderate parties would have been placed in the minority by a combined vote of Socialists and National Socialists. Dr. Dollfuss, who was as good a democrat as ever there has been under the sun, realized that new elections would mean the onset of anarchy and the ultimate victory of National Socialism. That is why he did away with a Parliament which was only able to destroy itself. Further events led Dr. Dollfuss and his successor far away from the path which they first wanted to follow, but before blaming them for this we should consider that under a majority system the confused situation with which they had to cope would never have arisen. Even at the peak of their strength the Austrian National Socialists never possessed the majority in any single-member constituency. If the Socialists and the Catholics had supported each other, as all parties can without undue loss of prestige under such circumstances, they could and probably would have excluded all National Socialists from the federal Parliament, and Austrian democracy would have survived in a normal manner.

P.R. has worked a similar havoc in Greece, and in a number of states in eastern Europe which during the last decade have abandoned democracy. Further, most of the existing difficulties in Czechoslovakia, in Belgium, in Holland and in the Scandinavian states are due to P.R. Omitting details, let me only remark that there can be no doubt that with a majority system in Belgium there would have been a chance neither for Degrelle's Rexists nor for the Communists, nor for the Flemish Nationalists. The country would not have had the political convulsion from which it now suffers.

A few more words are required with regard to Ireland, which country most observers claim as a proof for their contention that P.R. is compatible with a strong and stable government. They forget that at its first adoption P.R. was enforced upon Ireland by the English, more or less with the intention of dividing the Irish and weakening them thereby. A clear majority failed to result for the first time after the election of 1927. Then, as well as in 1932, subsequent elections redressed the situation. Things seem, however, to have taken a definite turn for the worse in 1937. The government of De Valera obtained only 75 seats including the one of the speaker, as against 75 conquered by the other parties. Mr. Congrave has publicly charged De Valera, who had obtained only 45 percent of the popular votes, with having produced his relative success by 'gerrymandering." As a matter of fact De Valera had abolished the university constituencies, which were hostile to him, and increased the number of three-member constituencies which are too small to allow a real proportionality. De Valera's prestige has suffered from these elections, and if new elections were called his party probably would lose some of its seats; the result might then be a succession of elections without a majority such as occurred in 1927. Many observers are aware of this, and a definite opposition against P.R. can be expected in Ireland in the near future.

There remains the question of the application of P.R. in American city government. The situation is in this instance different in so far as the party line-up, such as determined by national issues, has been transferred to municipal elections with the result that in many cities the majority of one party is so strong that it permanently controls the city affairs and leaves often no room for an efficient opposition which could exert the democratic function of control. This, however, does not mean that P.R. should be adopted. The majority system could easily be amended in such a way that provision is made for a minimum of seats to be reserved to the opposition. Furthermore, a reform movement could lead to an overthrow of an existing majority in the same way as it has done often enough in the history of the country, and now twice in succession in New York.

Wherever municipal elections have been held with a P.R. system, the result has not yet been as disastrous as it would have been in national elections, because the percentage of votes required for the election of the councilmen has, in contravention to the principles of P.R., always been so great as to exclude even substantial minorities from obtaining seats. Nevertheless, P.R. has produced racial divisions to such an extent in Ashtabula and in Cleveland that it had to be abandoned. In Cincinnati it has worked all right as long as the charter group had a majority, and in this case the majority system would have done at least as well. Many of its supporters, however, have grown less enthusiastic because in 1936 the balance of power was handed over to the leader of a minority group, who since then has become the real master of the city.

In New York the recent elections failed to introduce a Communist in City Hall by a very small margin. The result may be different the next time, and the margin would be certain to vanish if the

whole city formed only one constituency. Then there would be Socialists in addition to Communists in the council. Even so, the elections have resulted in a tie of 13 to 13, which has not only made peaceful deliberation impossible, but has made for shouting and mutual recriminations, so that fair-minded decisions seem out of the question. Should these conditions continue for any length of time, an anti-democratic group, denouncing the city council as a futile and undignified "talking shop," might have some chances of success. There would indeed be real danger for American democracy if P.R. were allowed to produce similar results in the other cities, and ultimately in state and national elections.

## LECTURING

By AGNES REPPLIER

DARESAY the temptation to lecture lies in the fact that a paper which can be published but once can be read a number of times. This is a thought dear to the economist's heart. It sends men and women roaming over the country now as it sent me fifty years ago. I did not like the work. I hated transportation, and I took no delight in new scenes, new faces or—to confess the truth—new points of view. I had no sustaining belief in the importance of anything I had to say; though I never spoke in a school without wishing that I had heard that lecture when I was a school-girl. Nothing half so good, or at least so entertaining, ever came my way.

The rare chance to speak in a college was even better than a school. College students are so drilled in listening that they have acquired the habit. They are also accustomed to thinking; and they have a background of general information in addition to the amazing things (very difficult things for the most part) which they are compelled to know. I made a friend for life of a Smith College Junior who listened to me for a patient hour, overlooked my shortcomings, and with disarming frankness reached down to something in my mind, or heart, or temper which suited and satisfied her. She is well known now in the field of letters, and the increasing respect accorded by reviewers to each new volume is a pleasing proof of popularity.

It is embarrassing to speak to an audience that will not listen. If a reader finds your book unreadable, he shuts it up, but not before your eyes. If he finds your remarks unlistenable, he has several ways of bringing this fact to your atention. When I was young and new to my job, I went one lamentable summer to Chautauqua, which was also young and a bit primitive. The programs

for every day were crowded into the briefest possible space, and two or three events were liable to happen at the same hour. The crowds who came to be instructed—or entertained—were not content to choose one of these events, and with a clear conscience let the others go by. They preferred to sample all of them, and see which they would probably have liked the best. They strayed into my open air enclosure, not furtively, nor with any desire to escape observation, but choosing their seats with care. Then, when I had grown accustomed to their presence, they would rise, look at me coldly as though to say, "We have given you your chance," and tranquilly withdraw, while a fresh lot took their places. It was so disturbing that I resolved to see what was happening to other speakers, and I did.

The lion of the week was John Fiske, who was lecturing every day from eleven to twelve (twelve was the Chautauqua dinner hour), in the great auditorium, which was said to hold seven thousand people, and had admirable acoustic properties. My acquaintance with Mr. Fiske had been of the slightest; but we met with the cordiality of shipwrecked mariners, and the next morning I went to hear him speak. His subject was well chosen, Bartolomé de las Casas, that heroic Spanish missionary who spent his life in an almost fruitless struggle to soften the hard lot of the South American Indians, enslaved by their Spanish conquerors.

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It was a tragic theme. Mr. Fiske's cool and somewhat smug composure disappeared utterly under the strain of what he had to tell. A noble rage possessed him. A noble pity stirred his heart. His audience sat spellbound. At least I thought they did until, suddenly and shrilly, the Chautauqua bells rang out the sacred hour of dinner.

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and terly noble eart. ought Chaunner. The seven thousand rose to their feet, and poured out of the auditorium. They did not go by tens or by hundreds; they moved en masse with agitated speed. Mr. Fiske looked aghast at this army in retreat. He could not break off instantly, but he brought his discourse to an end as rapidly as possible. When he had finished, I counted fifteen people including myself in the empty seats. I did not speak to him. A sense of shame held me back. There are humiliations borne by the innocent, and not by the badly behaved who deserve to suffer. I slunk home, ill at ease and unhappy.

The extreme concern of well-fed people for their meals has always mystified me. They eat too much to be really hungry; yet bread lines are composed and dignified compared to them. The hour before luncheon should be avoided by speakers if possible. I have been implored at the last minute to shorten my lecture lest it should delay the needed nourishment for a brief while. I have had a really distinguished occasion turned into a species of Bedlam by the forcible entrance of women who were excluded from all but the luncheon, but who broke into the room seemingly maddened by the fear that if they were not on hand they might perish of inanition. Strange to say, none of this concern extends itself to the speaker who is probably cold and hungry and out of temper. Chesterton in his somewhat sketchy reminiscences tells an amusing story of lecturing in midwinter in a suburb of London, and of the rector of the church in which he had spoken stopping him at the door. "Come, Mr. Chesterton," he said hospitably, "it's a bitter cold night. Do let me offer you an Oswego biscuit."

Personally I found churches oppressive. There is no reason why a lecture should not be given in a church, if it be the right kind of a church, and the best available room. But to enter on the rector's arm and to see my audience in pews instead of on chairs was a disturbing experience. My trivialities sounded more trivial than usual under such conditions. My subdued jests seemed loud and coarse. My petticoats were unseemly. I was out of the setting, and never at my ease.

In the early summer of 1896, I went with the federated women's clubs to Denver. It was an amazing experience, and it catapulted me into the ranks of the Republican party, to which I have clung with the desperate loyalty of the convert. It will be remembered that 1896 was the "free silver" year, which saw Mr. William Jennings Bryan a candidate for the Presidency. That Colorado should want a big market for her silver seemed to me natural enough; but I came from Pennsylvania, which mined coal—a superb mineral but not available for currency. That adult men and women should have been moved politically by Mr. Bryan's speech before the National Democratic Convention filled me with fright for the

possibilities of the future—a fright which subsequent events have justified.

"What are your politics, Miss Repplier?" a Denver woman asked me the day of my arrival.

I hesitated. Colorado had given her daughters all the franchise that lay in her power; but for Pennsylvanians in 1896 a set of political convictions seemed rather like a fancy dress, interesting as an expression of ideas, but filling no practical purpose. "I suppose," I said diffidently, "that I am a gold standard Democrat."

To which she rejoined, "Oh, you poor, blind, misguided, mistaken, deluded creature!"

It was all said in a breath, and in a friendly fashion; but I sat stunned. I had never in my life been pelted with so many adjectives, and they rattled like hail-stones, significant and imperative, but not convincing.

I had another curious experience in Denver. I met my own similitude. It was the second or third evening, and I was leaving the theatre where many of our meetings were held, when an usher said: "Will you step into this box for a minute? There is someone there who wants to meet you."

I stepped into the box, and the young woman who arose was like my reflection in a mirror. "I have been spoken to so often during the last two days," she said, "by people who mistook me for you that I thought we ought to see what it meant."

She spoke pleasantly and in an agreeable voice; but I looked into her eyes, and saw reflected in them the horror that I felt. Perhaps she had cherished illusions. Perhaps I had. It was an evil chance that had brought us together in a Denver theatre. I could not speak the sincere and simple truths that were in my mind. She probably felt the same inhibitions. So we talked about the federated clubs until a party of her friends burst into the box with shrill cries of delight at the resemblance which they seemed to think must be equally welcome to us both. I escaped, and went sadly back to my hotel. I was not suffering from wounded vanity (I had been brought up in an era of plain speaking); but I felt a loss of personal dignity. A part of myself was free to roam the world, and play her own rôle in it.

The most agreeable episode of my life as a lecturer was speaking once before the Elizabethan Club at Yale. I did not fret myself on this occasion by asking what my audience thought of my paper. They were responsible for my being there. Left to myself I should never have aspired to such an honor. Therefore I was free to enjoy the unwonted pleasure derived from my surroundings; from the quiet, the beauty, the distinction, the scholarship; from the urbane tolerance of my male audience; from the very walls and ceiling that shut me in for a little while from the world. There are good moments in life, and a few such I have recognized and enjoyed.

## THE MINIMUM WAGE IN CANADA

By E. L. CHICANOT

THE GOVERNMENT of Quebec made a new year's gift to labor of wage increases for all workers in any provincial industry whose wage was less than that decreed by minimum wage ordinances for specific categories, at the same time increasing from 5 to 10 percent the minimums previously legally fixed. The order affects nearly 80 percent of the province's 670,000 workers. In many respects the new law gives Quebec the lead among the provinces in the movement to establish equitable minimum wages for workers of all classes and registers a new advance in the progress of legislation of this kind which over two decades has come to apply to labor in Canada.

In glancing back over the years to estimate what has been accomplished in the direction of securing a more just and adequate recompense for unorganized labor, credit would seem to be due the Dominion government for initiating such movement. In 1900, it established its Fair Wages Policy which required that the current wage rates and working hours of the district should be observed in the case of all workmen employed on contracts for government building or construction operations and in cases of contracts for the manufacture of certain classes of government equipment and supplies.

This Act was superceded in 1930 by one which stated that the working hours of persons so employed should not exceed eight hours a day. This again was superceded by an Act in 1935 which imposed a limit of forty-four hours a week and extended the Dominion government's policy of fair wages to works carried out by any provincial or municipal authority with the aid of Dominion government funds.

The next progressive step toward the goal of a fair return for labor was the establishment of minimum wages for female workers. This was a matter of provincial legislation since, though at no time so defined, labor affairs were considered to be under the control of the individual provinces. One by one all of the provinces, with the exception of New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, have put into effect legislation providing for minimum wages for female employees in certain industries and occupations and there is also legislation restricting the hours of labor for such workers. It is interesting to note that the western provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and British Columbia had such laws before a federal industrial conference in 1920 passed a resolution urging them.

Upon this basis of a minimum wage for women measures were taken in various parts of Canada toward establishing minimum wages for men. Thus in Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba, Alberta and Saskatchewan minimum wage legislation provided that men and boys might not be employed at rates lower than the minimum rates set for female employees.

Prior to 1934, minimum wage rates for males separately had been established to a slight extent only in British Columbia, since 1925, and in Manitoba, since 1931. In 1934, however, orders were issued or extended to apply to large numbers of male workers in these two provinces. In the same year Quebec and New Brunswick under two acts established wage rates in certain industries, and in 1935, Ontario and Alberta did the same for wage scales for all employees in various industries.

As will immediately be appreciated, the degree of attention devoted to minimum wage legislation was impelled by the conditions of the depression, and naturally the Dominion authorities were forced to a yet broader consideration of the question. In 1935, the federal government in an claborate "New Deal" program of social reform included a Minimum Wages Act, adopted in accordance with the convention of the International Labor Organization of the League of Nations, which would authorize the Minister of Labor to create machinery whereby minimum rates of wages be fixed in trades in which wages were exceptionally low and where no arrangements existed for their effective regulation.

As previously noted, labor matters in Canada had been generally considered to come within the purview of provincial government, though the exact division of control in certain matters under the British North America Act had at all times been a matter of doubt and dispute. However, certain of the provinces referred the matter to the Supreme Court of Canada, which held the Minimum Wage Act ultra vires of Dominion authority. The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, the highest court of the British Empire, upheld the Canadian judges and supported the contention of the provinces in this respect. Any hope of uniform minimum wage legislation over Canada was killed for the time at least.

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The vicissitudes of the federal government's bill in no wise halted the progress of provincial legislation in the period. As a result of this all four western provinces have minimum wage laws for men as well as women, excepting those in agricultural and domestic employment. British Co-

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lumbia has established the highest basic rate, which averages \$.35 an hour for workers. The second highest is in Alberta where the basic minimum rate for men is set at \$.33 1/3 an hour or \$15 for a forty-five-hour week. In Manitoba, in any industry except farming, market gardening or domestic service, no person over eighteen years of age may be paid less than \$12 per week of forty-eight hours.

These provinces are, of course, extensively agricultural, and minimum wage legislation has far greater importance and significance in Central Canada, in the provinces of Ontario and Quebec, which contain nearly two-thirds of the country's population and account for over 80 percent of its industrial production. But these two provinces are industrially keen rivals, jealous of each other's manufacturing progress, and neither prone to independently take a step calculated to induce industry to depart for the territory of the other. Accordingly when the two provincial Premiers were desirous of acting where the federal Prime Minister had failed, they wisely got together and agreed each to pass laws to guarantee minimum wages to men. Quebec has been the first to take the step in the edict of the Fair Wage Board announced just prior to the closing of the old year, but it has been officially promised that Ontario will not be far in the lurch.

The new Quebec ordinance, it was made clear by Judge Roy, chairman of the recently appointed Fair Wage Board, is but a further step in the way of a progressive advance to an ultimate goal. Its principal object has been to effect a general regulation of wages and other working conditions and its essential feature is that it covers workers of all categories all over the province. It does not pretend to establish for all employees fair wages but goes a definite distance in remedying abuses from which a large majority of workers of all classes have suffered, and for which no legislation exists to protect them—particularly those in minor positions, without influence or backing, and therefore receiving very low wages.

The regulations of the Fair Wage Board order are very elaborate but boil down to a few general principles. They establish three zones: (1) the Montreal area, (2) other cities and towns of 5,000 population and over, (3) elsewhere in the province; and establish minimum wages under the various categories of employment for these zones. In addition to establishing these minimums for every possible class of worker, outside of agricultural workers, colonists, domestic servants privately employed, and workers already covered by collective labor agreements, the ordinance decrees that overtime at the rate of time and a half be paid to everyone earning less than \$60 a week, working more than forty-eight hours a week or less than thirty hours. It is expressly provided that every salary being paid at the time of the decree be deemed a contract and that no cuts shall be applied as a consequence of the increase thus extended to lower wage workers.

Though for workers already benefiting by legally established wage rates the increase is comparatively small, for many others it is much larger and may mean a rise of 30 percent in their pay envelopes. In all it is estimated the increases will amount to about 5 percent of Quebec's total wage bill, or \$26,000,000, the greater part of this sum going to workers not covered by previously existing ordinances.

Similar legislation, in accordance with the agreement reached, is expected to be announced from Ontario in a short time, thus further advancing the great industrialized area of Central Canada along the road to the establishment of wages for all workers which will make possible something nearer a decent standard of living.

All these provincial minimum wage enactments again may be said to be preparing the way for a federal law which will operate uniformly over the Dominion. The federal government's program of social reform is by no means a dead issue. The party in opposition at the time of its introduction did not oppose it in principle and now, in power, has affirmed the necessity of its enactment. It has appointed a Royal Commission to investigate the division of responsibility between the Dominion and the provinces with a view to suggesting amendments to the Canadian Constitution so that the federal government may be able to legislate unhampered on matters of nation-wide import. It is the social reform program which is primarily involved and the Minimum Wage Act looms up importantly in this.

Quebec's latest measure to improve the wages and hours of work in the province has been hailed in labor and social circles. Admittedly figures are still low and largely affect only unorganized workers, but it is a definite step forward toward the goal distantly envisioned. For thousands of workers the standard of living has been elevated an appreciable notch, which is significant in an area where, according to the chairman of the Fair Wage Board's own statement, there have been thousands of workers, even in large establishments, receiving \$3 or less per week for eighty hours or more of work. At the same time a guarantee of twenty-four hours consecutive rest in a week, together with the provision for overtime payment, should result in more men and women being employed.

As an evidence of Quebec's determination to improve the condition of labor in the province the ordinances of the Fair Wage Board are gratifying. They are still more heartening when considered as merely part of a network of Dominion-wide legislation.

## CONFIDENCE

By ABEL BONNARD

N TIMES as troubled as those which shake the world today, in a crisis as profound as it is general since it touches all peoples and involves the interests of every man, one would suppose that no person possessing even the slightest degree of what we call culture could possibly avoid having a frank and explicit consciousness of the dramatic state of affairs around us. This is not, however, the case. More people than one would imagine, and among these many who talk well enough to give the impression that they are thinkers, find means of eluding the true character of pressing reality by fashioning themselves a likeness of the real to agree with their personal temperament. No doubt the explication of such conduct is that we are incapable of realizing the gravity of the dangers overshadowing us without feeling called upon to awaken in ourselves a will to struggle against them.

To recognize the epoch in which we live as a dramatic one signifies something quite precise: a dramatic epoch is one which no longer permits us to exist in a mediocre fashion, one in which we must live more intensely if we wish to continue to live at all; it places us in a position where our choice has but two alternatives: to increase our personal force or to disappear. How many diverse expedients are tried to escape this effort! The most convenient device is that of affecting unconditional and unrestricted trust in what the future is reserving for us. What makes optimism so prevalent in the midst of crowding menaces which should render it impossible is that the optimist hopes for everything from others in order that he may need to ask nothing of himself. Optimism consists in believing that everything arranges itself provided one does nothing about it. I believe that the hybrid sentiment represented in this word has done great harm in the world these past few years. It gives to laziness, to abstention, to the resignation of egoists an air of generosity due to a kind of warmth shown in talk only. Its great inherent error is in confusing the successive phases of thought and of action.

Rightly enough, once we are engaged in an undertaking, a bold confidence should animate us, but this confidence should come only after we have examined with the most severe and meticulous attention the ensemble of the difficulties which we are to attack. Optimism does just the contrary: it depicts an easy world so as to have no effort to make therein. It trusts everything because it is capable of nothing itself. However, since it is inactive without being modest, it is obliged to cover its inertia with a show of words. It is a deserter who escapes with the boast of a great warrior.

If we wish to verify this statement that optimism results from a confusion between the confidence that is necessary in action and the severity of mind that is required in the deliberation that precedes action, there are abundant proofs. Not one of the truly great men of action has been what we call today an optimist. All those whom we admire in history have obtained their grand results only through the tension of perpetual effort and the vigilance of a mind always in travail. Napoleon says that whenever he had a plan of campaign to establish he would labor as a woman in childbirth; he would lend his enemies the most sagacious designs which he himself could conceive; he would enlarge all difficulties for fear of overlooking some; there is no one, at such a time, he said, more pusillanimous than I. But once his plan was decided upon, he would execute it with a resolution which nothing could weaken or distract.

Such are the eternal laws of success. In all great denominators of realities, whether it be question of war or of politics, one will find the same scrupulous examination of the facts, the same careful attention, almost fearful in its surveillance of the most insignificant signs, the same zeal in maintaining the advantages gained; and Bismarck, on this point, cedes nothing to Richelieu.

The vanquished great of history, on the contrary, are broken optimists. The consul Varro, on whom Hannibal inflicted so memorable a defeat that it still resounds across the centuries, had filled the Roman Senate with his boastings before marching toward his formidable adversary. In 1805, the unfortunate Mack, at Ulm, already within the grasp of Napoleon's clutches, wrote that "never had an army been posted in a fashion better suited to assure its superiority." The optimists, before Austerlitz, were the Russian officers, as before the campaign of 1806 they were the Prussian officers. All those who have believed that it is easy to conquer have themselves been conquered.

But once we have clearly seen the world in its harshness and its severity, it is up to us to feel ourselves equal and superior to its state. Virility of mind consists in daring to see things as they are and virility of heart consists in wanting to change these things according to what we are. Surrounded as we are by so many menaces, if reasons for fear can come to us from all that is outside ourselves, it is from within ourselves that we must draw our reasons for hope. In regaining the feeling of his own strength a virile man not only increases his own courage but rekindles the courage of others about him. In this way alone is formed that force which is capable of safeguarding for man a destiny worthy of him.

Without a doubt, circumstances as critical as those today require in the first place the services of men who are experts, of all those who are versed in the realm of economics, apt for studying the diverse problems which confront us. But that which, in the great turns of fortune today, constitutes the tremendous resource of our old countries is to have produced saints, heroes, knights and poets. The supreme indications which they have given us of courage springing from a spiritual source allow us to believe that sacred forces still sleep in the depths. May these forces, wakened, arise to the surface; let them arm themselves, traversing the realm of talent and knowledge, with all the means necessary to them, and they will be able once again to save and enlighten

While we cannot hope for anything if we remain inert or if, in an exceptional period, we content ourselves with maintaining our ordinary virtues, we can, on the contrary, revive our hope if we will respond to increased dangers by a greater strength of character in ourselves.

## Empire State Building

The elevator boy on the third elevator (for the tower) said to me:

"No matter how high a building is, there are people Who want it still higher."

I said: "Is there not a limit to the height of buildings?"
He said: "In the last five years I have learned not to put
limits to anything."

I stepped out on the platform: it was a different sort of a hill—

Not a slope of flowers, but a sheer drop of cemented walls. . . .

A slender spear blade twelve hundred and twenty-four feet high,

Threatening to be brushed by the wind and bent down Across the grey blocks of distance.

New York: a deep picture unrolled before me, tightening my throat—

I had expected nothing as great as this.

It is a different wind than that of country roads (Winds of the pine-wash, the berry bush and goldenrod). This is the city wind that the spire-gage measures; It hurries with planes and gulls; it strokes the squares and the tiny rippled waters,

And leaps on over the webs, Staggering me with a draught of a strong city And its jagged sandwiched surface.

O my slow pigmy city grooved by lacings of streets, Woven by threads, washed by the feet of rivers and bay With the ships and the soft foam-fan behind, And dots smaller than ants playing baseball on the

And dots smaller than ants playing baseball on the diamonds:

I did not know there was so much beauty in the cement and steel.

DANIEL W. SMYTHE.

#### **NEEDED: A HERESY OR TWO?**

By GERALD ALLARD

SAINT PAUL was of the opinion, sometimes echoed by historians, that there are times when heresies help the cause of revealed Truth. "There must also be heresies," he says to the Corinthians. Catholicism's quickest and sharpest and most prolonged reaction is against heresy. But since there is always some danger, when opposing an error of faith, of swinging too far in the opposite direction, a good, vigorous, complementary-heresy or counterheresy has often served a timely purpose in maintaining the theological equilibrium of debate. Again, everyone will have noticed how the full beam of a searchlight momentarily obscures objects lying immediately outside its glare. So, too, a temporary obscurity of adjacent truths may result from the focusing of theology's beacons on one (thereby) isolated point. Now, there is a point of view which says that the Church has suffered, still suffers in fact, not because there was too much heresy at the time of the so-called Reformation, but because there was too little. More accurately: because some specific, complementary errors and counter-errors were not proclaimed and defended with obstinacy.

Those who make this claim begin by recalling instances. When Arius of Alexandria denied that the Word was of the same Divine nature as the Father, the Council of Nicaea was not long in defining the consubstantiality of the Son. In the bitter subsequent battles, fought to vanquish "political" as well as religious Arianism, the consubstantiality of the Holy Spirit was saved from passing out of view by its convenient denial by Macedonius. Thanks to his complementary heresy, the First Council of Constantinople defined our full trinitarian belief.

Again, when the innovating sermons of Nestorius, a recently appointed Archbishop of Constantinople, attacked the union of two natures in the single, Divine Person of Christ by "dissolving" Him into a dual personality, one Divine, one human, the Council of Ephesus quickly enshrined traditional belief in an official rule of faith. Then, in dogged opposition to Nestorianism, providentially (it is claimed) came Eutyches, who "contracted" into a single nature, His humanity having been completely swallowed up in His Divinity. This was counter-heresy with a vengeance, and to it is owing the crystal-clear formula of the Council of Chalcedon.

So, the adherents of "heresy-deficiency" continue, Semipelagianism helped in its own way to measure the blows beating upon Pelagius, that British Celt whose name seems to have been good plain Morgan before becoming famous. The list of such services of heresy to truth, one is assured, could easily be drawn out, but let us not longer delay the consideration of the disastrous lack of heresies at the time of the Revolt. The points here singled out are all in some way connected with the august Sacrament of the Altar. First of all, as the Acts of the Council of Trent tell us, just prior to the religious uprising Eucharistic practise was one in which Communion was received but rarely, the primitive, active par-

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ticipation of the laity in the Mass reduced to dimmest memories, and not a few ugly tokens of avarice might be seen in the methods used to stimulate donations for Masses.

The Mass was being everlastingly preached as a propitiatory sacrifice: against this came the fierce and intense attack against the Eucharist as sacrifice at all, propitiatory or otherwise. Unfortunately, in the view I am sketching, it never occurred to anyone to deny that the Eucharist is also a sacrament, and so, in the subsequent concentration on the point denied, the fullness of the truth of the sacrament was in a measure obscured by oversight.

Without a sacrifice, the case continues, there is no need of a specially ordained priesthood of those "chosen from among men to offer gifts and sacrifices." It was only part of the attack on the Mass as sacrifice that the unique prerogative of those in Holy Orders to offer visible sacrifice was attacked. How regrettable, it is claimed, that no one flatly denied that grand and ennobling truth of the priesthood shared by the laity in general, ordained and commissioned as priests of inferior grades by the very sacraments of Baptism and Confirmation. But because not denied, neither was it affirmed or defended. In fact, it was so taken for granted as to be almost completely lost sight of, at least from the layman's point of view. The adherents of this view point to the surprise, not to say delight, with which a strong reaffirmation of this general priesthood of the laity by Pope Pius XI is now greeted. In his encyclical on "Reparation to the Sacred Heart" the Pontiff speaks at some length of how "participation in this mystic priesthood and in the office of satisfying and sacrificing is enjoyed [by the laity] . . . in much the same manner as [by] every priest and pontiff." So there was need here, it is concluded, of a complementary heresy long ago.

But the whole case concerning the Holy Eucharist has not yet been stated. Before proceeding, it is advantageous to borrow a few Latin tags from the theologians, and to distinguish with them these three catchwords as summaries of doctrine: sacramentum tantum, or the sign of the sacrament, the species of bread and wine; sacramentum et res, the Real Presence of Christ under the species; res tantum, the sacred reality represented by the symbolism of the species, and produced by the very Body of Christ, that is, the unity of the mystical body.

The external sign (sacramentum tantum), the species of bread and wine, was not in any way denied, and so there was no need here of a counter-heresy. With regard to the Real Presence (sacramentum et res), the case was more complicated: it was partly a matter of the Catholic explanation of the fact, and partly a denial of the fact itself. It was the formula of transubstantiation that gagged Luther: he was willing to admit a very Real Presence, but under another formula of impanation, Christ conceived as being present under the substance of bread (and wine). For Calvin there was a sort of Presence really at hand in the reception of the Communion-Memorial. Zwingli saw there was no need, in this view, of a Real Presence, and so he exaggerated, as indeed did all the innovators, the symbolism of the sacrament, which the theologians call the sacred reality (res tantum). It

would have been better in the long run, we are told, if this truth had also been denied outright, because then it should have been defended with the fullest weight of definition and anathema.

As it was, when the Fathers of Trent sat down to thrash out the current erroneous teachings, they hurriedly reaffirmed this doctrine of the sacred symbolism, and then squared off to deal at length with the truths of the sacrificial character of the Mass and the precise nature of the Real Presence. "He wished," they said almost casually, "it [the Holy Eucharist] . . . to be a symbol of that one body, of which He Himself exists as Head, and to which He wishes us as members to be linked with the closest bonds of faith and hope and love" (Sess. XIII, c. 2). This precise truth had not been denied, and so, our case concludes triumphantly, in this matter our every-day lives have been affected these long years by heresy-deficiency.

Is it really true that modern Catholicism needs a heresy or two to deny the layman's participation in the priesthood of Christ, or to deny the sacred symbolism of the Holy Eucharist? The utmost that could possibly be conceded to that point of view is that the fullest expression and understanding of these truths now coming into their own, might have been hastened had they been stubbornly denied in the sixteenth century. But the indwelling and unfailing Spirit has His own avenues of approach and His own seasons for "recalling all things whatsoever I have told you." And each age has its specific truths and unities. In our own age the luminous restoration of the truths here discussed is being effected through the current reformation of corporate worship. Catholicism does not need a heresy or two.

#### Bread

Give me stale bread to eat, the well-thumbed crust That to my dire extremity is deeded What time I call it blessed, since I must— The staff of life, the very manna kneaded

In kitchens of the moon. Its special yeast I'll ever prize. I'll be the glad partaker Of this most rare, albeit frugal, feast, The product of some pale-browed, floury baker,

Tending his mystic ovens. I will hoard My hunger and my desperate leanness when I find myself beside a lavish board In company with hearty trenchermen.

Integrity will be its own reward, Since fresh bread ever bears the taint of plenty, Not like the morsel dearly won and hard, In texture dry, and in its substance scanty.

There is a wonder here. Oh, let me eat
Of such poor fare, yet richer than a czar's,
Bread of a strange, a most celestial wheat,
Sown in the sky, and winnowed of the stars.

AMANDA BENJAMIN HALL.

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## HABIT OF PERFECTION

By FRANCIS B. THORNTON

SINCE I know nothing about the technical side of music I consider myself perfectly competent to write about it, and when I think of music, my mind turns to the work of the Pius X School of Liturgical Music in New York City.

It seems strange that Catholics in the United States in general, and New York in particular, have failed to appreciate at its proper worth this school and its outstanding accomplishments. Cutting through all the petty musical quarrels and setting aside the jealous rivalries of directors and schools of musical thought, it may be said without fear of contradiction that Mother Stevens has created at Pius X an atmosphere and a mode of study which have given to us a supreme musical experience: the chants of the Church expressed at such a pitch of artistic perfection that all the more flamboyant ecclesiastical music of the great composers offers nothing to compare with it as a cerebral experience.

I am not ignorant of the chant. I studied it as a boy and sang in a boy's choir which specialized in the chant; I have heard its grave beauty flow up under the vaults of Quarr and Solesmes. These were charming experiences, but in them my spine never vibrated with the intensity with which it does every time I hear the Pius X Choir sing the chant in the Town Hall in New York City. I can hear the "harrumping" of the musical tycoons, who snort that I should dare to compare the works of the monks at Quarr and Solesmes with the efforts of a crowd of high school girls under the direction of a nun, but I do compare them, and I should like the world to know the basis of my comparison.

To understand the work of this school it is necessary to visit the school itself. A trip on the 8th Avenue subway from downtown New York will take the curious to 125th Street on the edge of Harlem. It is only a short walk up the hill to Manhattanville College and the Pius X School. The repose of Quarr and Solesmes is not found there. The streets are narrow and crowded with trucks and playing children; on bright days the whole neighborhood turns out with baby buggies to sun itself along the college wall.

Within the grounds the world outside seems remote. The choir hall itself is a flat, low building near the wall. It is furnished with seats on an inclined plane and it has all the impeccable taste and austerity which are native to Mrs. Justine Ward who built it.

The some sixty high school girls who study here are perfectly ordinary girls as far as outward appearances go: they are the simple, good-humored children one may find in any Catholic high school; they love a joke, they laugh easily, they are noisy and as full of life as girls of their age should be. They have their lessons in an old building on the college grounds; it is cramped, but the staff of teachers is devoted, and one hears the voices of the girls shouting "amo, amas, amat" with the same gusto with which they attack the chant.

How is it that the school is able to teach these young girls so much music that a famous critic could say of them, "These girls have forgot more music than the graduates of most of our conservatories know"? This result seems to have several factors. The first of these is Mother Stevens herself. She is absolutely an original, and in a world given over to dull unelectrical people that is a great deal. She radiates force and penetration. To encounter her for a brief moment as she flies across the grounds, to see her in action on podium, to speak to her in her busy office, is to understand living in Saint Paul's term, "to spend and be spent."

Of all her good qualities her penetration is the most outstanding. She is quick on the uptake, and has an amazing intuitional understanding which makes her see all the implications of a situation before it is explained. Because of this quality she is able to inspire her staff and the girls with some of her own force and native steel.

The teachers on her staff are radiant with her optimism, and because she is truly a great lady and a great personality they are devoted to her and to the girls with a most tender devotion, which is deep enough not to tolerate less than perfection in anything they do.

The girls themselves have caught the fire. They go to practise every day with the determination and abandon which make great music. I have seen them in the late afternoon returning again to the hall for a long rehearsal after the tiring lessons of the day; they returned with no school-girl faces, but with the determination toward perfection which characterizes everything they do. As girls they are ordinary: any one of their voices heard alone is nothing out of the ordinary, but they do know that they are dedicated to perfection in the chant, and this determination makes them rise above fatigue and all the small things which discourage lesser people, and make their lives less perfect.

It is true that Mother Stevens gets these girls early in life and trains them thoroughly in her system during their formative years in grade school. This gives them no mean background, but it does not explain the absolute perfection with which they create the official music of the Church: tone and pitch are just right, the words are crystal clear, the free rhythm is so truly free that in singing the chant one has the feeling they are improvising; it is an effortless flight of sound which carries the words with conversational effect, but on a plane of perfection high as the crystal phrasing of angels.

It is this dedication to perfection which makes their singing of the chant the best in the world. If truth is said and it should be, there is no group of monks which will spend the time and effort these girls give to the singing of the chant. Genius is still "an infinite capacity for taking pains," and the Pius X School has a genius for the chant because they take those means to achieve perfection. To all who are still capable of appreciating the absolute in an age given to slovenliness in art and literature, it is worth the effort to look in on the Pius X School; to those who appreciate less, it may be of some value to see their insufficiency rebuked in the work of a nun and some sixty high school girls.

## Seven Days' Survey

The Church.-At the annual meeting of the Association of College Presidents of Pennsylvania, Reverend Edward V. Stanford, O.S.A., of Villanova, spoke of the present trend toward governmental control of higher education. He cited increased governmental subsidies to state institutions with duplications of facilities already afforded elsewhere, greater participation by federal and state authorities in voluntary accrediting work and "threats of taxation against privately supported institutions." \* \* \* Reverend Rupert Mayer, S.J., was rearrested for preaching in his parish church contrary to previous police orders. Father Mayer is one of the most beloved priests in Germany. \* \* \* After a lapse of two months the Canadian "Catholic Hour" has returned to the air and is now available throughout the province of Ontario. It consists of a Low Mass with a musical background rendered by the St. Michael's Cathedral Choir of Toronto, a twenty-minute sermon and a news broadcast. \* \* \* Archbishop Michael J. O'Doherty of Manila declared that the 10,000,000 Philippine Catholics are satisfied with the present relationship of Church and State. "We do not want money or honors or privileges from any government, and we certainly are not looking for any kind of political responsibility. All religion wants is liberty and with liberty we can forge ahead." \* \* \* Of the 400,000 inhabitants of Basutoland, South Africa, 146,000 are Catholics; the first Vicar Apostolic reached the Cape of Good Hope 100 years ago. \* \* \* Argentine Catholics are planning the inauguration of a J.O.C. (Young Christian Workers) movement on the French model. \* \* \* On his return Archbishop Ruiz y Flores of Morelia, Mexico, issued a pastoral to his people urging them to "labor for the return to the world of Christian-mindedness in everything. . . . Live your religion. Make it penetrate and saturate your life. That religion, which is life, will enable you to experience all its delights and will attract irresistibly those with whom you come in contact." \* \* \* Five hundred persons attended the formal inauguration of the Institute of Religious Discussion Groups in New York; the National Catholic Alumni Federation plans similar leadership training courses in other cities.

The Nation.—The Supreme Court delivered two decisions upholding the power of the National Labor Relations Board and ruling that Federal District Courts cannot enjoin its hearings because Congress has given exclusive power to the board and appellate courts to enforce the Wagner Act. The NLRB cannot be stopped in its hearings now until it has made its findings. \* \* \* Robert H. Jackson, Assistant Attorney-General lately famous for his anti-big business speeches, was nominated by President Roosevelt to the position of Solicitor General, just vacated by Stanley Reed when he was elevated to the Supreme Court. \* \* \* Thirty-two insurance companies started their new plan of dividends to safe auto-

mobile drivers. Drivers who go through the year without an accident involving a loss on the policy will receive a premium of 15 percent. Twenty-five states have approved the plan. \* \* \* A committee of the New York Stock Exchange reported to the members a new plan of administration calling for a full-time paid administrator and for a less self-perpetuating board of control. The plan would have to be approved by the exchange members and by the SEC. \* \* \* Dr. Glenn Frank, chairman of a National Republican Program Committee, called a meeting of the 150 members of the committee for February 28. He declared that the Republican party "must be more faithfully expressive of the American spirit than the Fascist program of the New Deal which threatens to Hitlerize what was once democratic self-government." \* \* \* Independent retail merchants met to form a national organization and passed resolutions calling upon the government "to grant loans to worthy and deserving small business enterprises at low interest rates," opposing state and local sales taxes, and approving laws designed to eliminate monopolistic and unfair business practises and the bill now before the House which would restrict the interstate retail activities of manufacturers.

The Wide World .- Chancellor Hitler revoked his plans for calling the Reichstag to hear an important speech by him. Colonel General Hermann Goering created a military economy council which is regarded as a new economic general staff. It is rumored that, in a Cabinet reorganization, he will be appointed chief of national defense. The fifth anniversary of the Nazi attainment to power was celebrated in Berlin. Hitler's plans for the complete reconstruction of Berlin, designed to convert the "former capital of the Hohenzollern Princes, Kings and Emperors into the eternal capital of the First Reich of the German People," were announced by Professor Albert Speer, new Inspector General, who has been put in charge of this work. \* \* \* Great Britain warned the Rumanian Foreign Minister, Istrate Micescu, that she would demand an extraordinary session of the League of Nations Council if Premier Octavian Goga enforced anti-Jewish measures promulgated by his government. \* \* \* In a speech from the throne, Lord Tweedsmuir expressed the hope that it would be possible to submit a new Canadian-American trade treaty to Parliament during the present session. \* \* \* Premier Camille Chautemps issued a summary of the text of the new labor charter that he has submitted to Parliament which proposes that every strike should be submitted to a secret vote of the employees. \* \* \* Premier John Metaxas of Greece announced that his régime in the future will be a purely dictatorial régime. \* \* \* Andrei Vishinsky, Attorney General, told 2 meeting of higher Soviet prosecutors that 25 percent of the criminal cases brought in Moscow are without foundation.

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Spain .- France will try to persuade the powers to use their influence to obtain a suspension of air bombardments of the civilian population of Spain. Fearing another air attack on Barcelona, the Loyalist Cortes held its semiannual session in the famous monastery of Montserrat for the purpose of legalizing the dictatorial decrees of the last six months and voting confidence in the Negrin government which admitted a serious food problem. General Franco set up twelve ministries which, with under-secretaries, will carry on the central administration heretofore handled by the temporary technical junta. Great Britain, aroused by the sinking in the Mediterranean of the British steamer Endymion with a loss of ten lives, dispatched eight destroyers to hunt down and destroy the pirate submarine responsible. French and Italian Ambassadors were summoned to confer on means of strengthening the threepower anti-piracy patrol.

Armament Profits.-With the United States committed to a huge rearmament program sentiments are being voiced here and there that something should be done to curtail the opportunities in peace time for the large profits afforded by these measures to provide an "adequate national defense." In Congress, however, attention was centered on the profits in actual warfare. The Senate Finance Committee after months of conferring with the Treasury Department and a joint congressional committee on internal revenue taxation, has reported favorably on a "pay as you fight" bill sponsored by Senator Connally of Texas. Taxes on individual and corporate incomes are the means devised to take the profits out of war. Individuals would be allowed exemptions of \$800, heads of families \$1,600, with \$250 for each dependent child. The tax ranges from 6 percent for the first \$1,000 over the exemption to 80 percent for incomes over \$50,000. For corporations tax rates range from 30 percent to 77 percent of the net income retained, depending upon the percentage of net income distributed to the stockholders. These rates would apply to all income from government war contracts even though not actually realized until the conclusion of peace. Special deductions would be allowed for losses due to plant expansion for war-time purposes. It is not clear how these provisions would supply, on a pay-as-you-go basis, the immense sums needed for the conduct of modern warfare. The Hill bill, now on the House docket, would approach the war profits problem from the angle of maximum prices to be set by the President, who may also require registration of individuals or corporations, licensing, and other control measures; newspapers, periodicals and books are excepted.

Beatrix of Holland.—Crown Princess Juliana gave birth to a daughter, January 31. The Netherlands generally would have hailed a son most enthusiastically, but this country has been ruled so satisfactorily by Queen Wilhelmina that there is really no disappointment, as is shown by the nation-wide rejoicing. Dr. De Groot, the obstetrician, informed Queen Wilhelmina that the child is perfect. The little Princess has blue eyes and fair hair, and weighs 7 pounds 11 ounces. After the first moments

of reverence the Netherlands went wild with joy. Its quaint winding lanes and old cobbled streets were filled with whirling couples, dancing under massed banners of orange. Music and laughter resounded. The only even comparatively quiet spot in the land of dykes, windmills and tulips was Soestdyjk Palace, where Juliana and the royal child were reported well. Even there it was said, "The new Princess has a strong, well-developed pair of lungs-as we in the palace already know." The popularity of the royal family has unmistakably increased during recent years. When the Queen Mother died in 1934, the loneliness of the Queen and her daughter appealed to popular sentiment. The very austerity of Wilhelmina's character became a lovable trait in the eyes of her subjects, while Juliana's graciousness brought her a real response. When Juliana was married a year ago her husband, although a German and a complete stranger to his present compatriots, was greeted with enthusiasm, and ever since the young couple have lived in an atmosphere of unlimited good-will. For months the pious Hollanders had prayed with Prince Bernhard, Juliana's consort, that the child would be a prince and future King. The last King of Holland, Willem III, was born in 1817. But Juliana wanted a girl, and at 9:47 a.m. her wish was granted at the little white palace of Soestdyjk. On February 1, the Prince Consort Bernhard registered his daughter as Beatrix Wilhelmina Armgard, Princess of Orange-Nassau and Princess of Lippe-Biesterfeld. He said the name Beatrix had been chosen for no particular reason, but "we both like it." The other names are those her grandmothers bore.

Congress.-The House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee began hearings on a bill by which the United States would assert its exclusive right to take salmon off the Alaska coast where Japanese fish processing steamers have been operating, taking salmon without restriction or without regard to the United States conservation laws which are rigidly enforced as to American fishermen. The House Judiciary Committee may undertake the first comprehensive investigation in the history of the United States of methods employed by the Department of Justice. The department recently used confidential testimony given before a federal grand jury at Milwaukee as a club in an effort to obtain "consent decrees" from a group of automobile finance companies under investigation for alleged violation of the anti-trust laws. Admiral William D. Leahy, chief of naval operations, told the House Committee on Naval Affairs that "the political conditions in the world at this moment both in Europe and in the Far East are far more threatening than at any time since 1918 and no improvement is in sight." Defending the administration's new tax policy, Representative Fred M. Vinson, chairman of the House subcommittee on taxation, asserted that the proposed special tax on closely held corporations would yield \$50,000,000 rev-Representative Treadway, ranking Republican member of the committee, criticized the committee's proposals on the undistributed profits tax and the proposed special undistributed profits tax on closely held corporations as certain to have a destructive effect on business. Senator Borah warned that the United States was risking war by letting the world believe it was in a "tacit alliance" with Great Britain for building up their navies.

China.—With the occupation of Linhwaikman, 100 miles to the south of Suchow, the Japanese resumed their march toward this all-important rail center after a month's delay due to bad weather and stiff Chinese resistance. The defenders reported that they were repulsing all attacks on Tsining, 100 miles to the northwest of Suchow. Guerilla warfare appeared to be continuing with considerable success in the Nanking, Shanghai, Shantung and other sectors. The slapping of John M. Allison, third secretary of the United States Embassy at Nanking, by a Japanese sentry led to an American protest and a Japanese apology. The daily press carried reports of the first donations to the new fund sought by the American Red Cross for Chinese relief. Nelson T. Johnson, United States Ambassador to China, is honorary chairman of the American Advisory Committee in China, which includes Reverend Leo F. McGreal, S.J., of Gonzaga College. Reverend Charles Meeus of Haimen, China, in offering his cooperation to the Red Cross, declared, "There is no way to describe adequately the desperate plight of Chinese men, women and children to people of other countries that have plenty." The Fides Service reports that Catholic missionaries are remaining bravely at their posts. Their conduct is a "tale of heroism that has rarely, if ever, been surpassed—the heroism of the peace-loving standard-bearers of Christ, men and women, remaining true to their tasks despite the perils and panic of a general disorganization." The report regards it as providential that Father Andrew Martin of the Paris Foreign Mission Society, victim of an aerial bombardment, is the only member of this "peaceable army of Christ" to have lost his life during actual hostilities.

Housing .- Administration pressure was needed to bring about a 42 to 40 passage in the Senate of the housing bill already approved by the House and now sent to the President for signature. An amendment inserted by Senator Lodge of Massachusetts calling for the payment of prevailing wage rates on the new low-cost housing construction was the bone of contention. The principle of the new legislation is financing by government-guaranteed mortgages; its aim is to provide new homes at low rent for some 700,000 families a year. The government is authorized to underwrite these projects to the extent of \$2,000,000,000 and the President may extend this \$1,-000,000,000 more. Senator Wagner recently declared that banks should invest in housing if they wish to save the present structure of private capitalism. He told the New York State Bankers Association that the "federal government . . . has made financing of housing one of the safest and most profitable outlets for banking funds." A bill introduced at Albany with the support of a nonpartizan civic group in New York City calls for the authorization of a \$100,000,000 bond issue to be submitted to the voters in the fall election for the "reclamation of blighted areas" throughout the state. The fund, which would be lent to various municipal authorities, is "entirely self-liquidating" in that the plan provides for meeting current debt service charges and repayment to the state in full within fifty years. Mayor La Guardia of New York has proposed a plan—which has proved successful in England and Holland—that will wipe out 17 square miles of the city's slums and eventually provide homes at \$20-\$30 a month for 500,000 families. New York would appropriate \$500,000 or more for several years to guarantee 3 percent interest on an initial issue of \$16,000,000 worth of housing fund bonds, an amount that would be extended as further city budget provisions are made.

Labor.—The Executive Council of the A.F.L. continued its important meeting at Miami. Insisting on a partial settlement of differences with the industrial unionists before accepting the reentry of the C.I.O. affiliates into good standing, the council was said to be considering a definite campaign of splitting the C.I.O. and particularly isolating the Miners' Union. A new mine union would be built up around the Progressive Miners of America. On one day, President Green received a representative of David Dubinsky, head of the Ladies' Garment Workers who has severely criticized the C.I.O., to which his union has brought great strength. The problem of a clean break in Pennsylvania troubled the sessions, as it might very likely result in throwing the state from the Democrats to the Republicans. President Green asked the A.F.L. to quit Labor's Non-Partizan League because it is "nothing more than a C.I.O. agency, a ventriloquist's dummy for C.I.O. leaders." He also announced that "the A.F.L. is going into the merchandizing business. We propose to leave no stone unturned in delivering the union market to the worthy manufacturers who employ members of unions affiliated with the A.F.L." The United Mine Workers, 600,000 members, fortyeight years old, was holding its convention in Washington at the same time. Two amendments to the union's constitution were adopted, one cutting out all reference to the A.F.L., and another barring from membership all members of the Communist party, Ku Klux Klan, National Civic Federation, National Chamber of Commerce, the I.W.W., the Working Class Union and the One Big Union. A bigger, unspecified contribution to the C.I.O. was authorized, and the miners came out for a third term for Roosevelt. The convention heard an address by Father Francis J. Haas in which he called on the unionists to take quick steps for peace in the labor movement.

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Catholic Industrial Conference.—A Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems, the sixty-ninth since 1927, was held in Brooklyn the last week in January. During the six sessions, attended by more than 5,000 persons, addresses were delivered by prominent priests, politicians, labor leaders and industrialists. Topics discussed included: labor's right to a living and family wage, consumers' cooperatives, the necessity of governmental regulation of some types of business, the economic status of the

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Negro, the rights and duties of employers and employees, and the present economic situation. Monsignor Ryan declared that the present depression is "the accumulated effect of the unbalanced distribution of income and purchasing power." Father John Francis Cronin, S.S., of Baltimore, explained at some length a position on wages he derived from the encyclicals: "First, that the right of living wage is a basic human right; secondly, that our economic system is capable of producing enough wealth to fulfil this obligation, although at present it is nowhere near this goal; and finally, that to insure this full use of the economic system, competition in wages must be stopped by union organization and governmental legislation, and furthermore effective steps must be taken to modify the present trend of big business toward high prices and restricted production." Father McGowan of the N.C.W.C. enlarged: "We are morally obligated to establish the universal living wage, and so to distribute the nation's income through wages, salaries, interests, profits and prices that production and employment will be at their fullest. To do this we must organize labor unions, employers' associations and professional bodies, and make rules and One result of the conference is the enforce them." formation of a school in Brooklyn where priests will study the questions discussed at the conference. The clergy will attend the school once a week for ten weeks.

Non-Catholic Religious Activities .- The American Red Cross Appeal for funds to provide relief for warstricken China was endorsed by the major national denominations affiliated with the Federal Council of Churches. In a statement by the signatories the Churches are urged to take the lead in arousing interest in Chinese relief, as "prompt and generous demonstration of the good-will and practical helpfulness of the American people." \* \* \* For the first time in the history of Nashville municipal politics the ministers of the city have come out strongly as a body for one of the candidates for mayor. Dr. Costen J. Harrell, pastor of the West End Methodist Church, stated the pastors are objecting to the liaison which has developed between the old-time political circle of Nashville and operators of the so-called "numbers racket" which daily mulcts several thousand dollars from hundreds of Negro workers and domestic servants of the lowest income group. Other issues at stake were "the attempts of some of our citizens to entrench themselves in the city hall by graft and patronage." Nowhere in the United States, it is believed, has this vice become so widespread among so many thousands of Negroes as in Nashville. \* \* \* A cooperative movement embracing three religious groups in a program in New York City to combat intolerance and to preserve individual liberty was outlined at a luncheon given Thursday, January 27, by James W. Gerard, former Ambassador to Germany. A committee of thirty Catholics, Jews and Protestants was proposed to "explore the possibilities of radio and public forum groups to carry on the program. It would be fashioned after the Chicago Round Table of the National Conference of Jews and Christians, of which former Vice President Charles G. Dawes is chairman.'

Farms .- The Senate - House conferees who started working on the wide discrepancies between the two farm bills passed last session, were reported to be on the point of bringing their compromise bill into Congress. It was agreed that administrative costs of the new program should be limited to 3 percent of sums made available. County farm committees were decided upon as administrative agents, to be elected by the farmers of the counties, with power to allocate acreage and pay out benefits. There was much debate about limiting benefit payments. The top limit was placed at \$10,000, which individuals and partnerships could obtain in each state where they complied with the program, and which corporations could obtain as a maximum for the whole country. Enforcement of this provision would be delayed until 1939. A special fund of 10 percent of the total benefits was set aside to step up payments of less than \$200. The advisability of instituting all-risk crop insurance on wheat in the immediate future was one of the chief problems debated. \* \* \* New York State reported on the effects of its new centralized rural education. This year 8,000 boys are taking four-year agricultural courses in the new high schools, as compared with 6,000 last year. Besides that, 4,500 young farmers will return to school for intensive courses in 1938. This new education, emphasizing farm ownership and scientific training, is influencing the young men to stay in agriculture. Over 70 percent of the graduates of the new schools in this industrial state are estimated to be engaged in farming, and a large percentage of the others intend to do so when they earn some money to help in the enterprise. The Future Farmers of America, an organization founded twelve years ago, now has chapters in every state, and the New York chapter includes 10,000 members.

Unemployment.—Expansion of the WPA to provide 3,000,000 federal relief jobs, in place of the present total of 1,800,000, is recommended to the Senate Committee on Unemployment and Relief in a statement made public by twenty-one officers and editors of social work publications and educators in the social work field. Primary financial responsibility for meeting the needs of unemployment must be borne by the national government, their communication says. Curtailment of the WPA program "must be regarded as a powerful contributory cause to the present decline in spending power and the present sharp increase in unemployment," the group observes. The WPA fiscal authorities decided to spend more on winter employment and trust that spring would bring a business spurt to absorb the thousands who will have to be cut off their rolls then. Aubrey Williams, acting administrator, stated that, because of increasing demands, work-relief enrolment would be expanded to about 2,000,000 persons this month and then would be progressively curtailed to 1,500,000 by June. Most of the pruning of the rolls will be in the South. Officials said they would require an outlay of about \$134,000,000 in February, compared with an average of less than \$200,000,000 a month spent from July to December, or a total of \$562,332,925 of the \$1,050,000,000 for 1937-1938 relief.

## The Play and Screen

Shadow and Substance

T ONCE bitter and tender, of the things of the A spirit and the things of the world, "Shadow and Substance" is the finest play that has come out of Ireland since "Juno and the Paycock" and "The Plough and the Stars." And it is a play different from the plays of O'Casey, of Synge and of Yeats, for it is shot through and through with the Catholic spirit. Canon Skerritt is half Irish, half Spanish, aristocratic in feeling, resenting his relationship to a humble Irish family, a classicist who dislikes the work-a-day Irish clergy, who despises Irish education, who looks on the Church as a world culture rather than as a nationalistic one, who uses his superior education and intellect with subtle cruelty against his curates and the townspeople. Yet with all his pride and snobbery he loves tenderly his little Irish servant, Brigid, who typifies to him the spirit of classic Ireland, an Ireland untainted by the Nordic spirit. Almost equally fond of Brigid is a schoolmaster, Dermot O'Flingsley. Actually these two men have much in common, for they equally despise the mediocrity of Irish popular education, but O'Flingsley writes a book savagely attacking not only this education, but the neglect of the Irish priests and especially of a particular Canon toward it. The Canon discovers that O'Flingsley has written this book, and discharges him, putting in his place a nit-wit and sycophant whom he marries off to a young woman relation who is annoying him by appeals for a teaching position. The people of the town stone O'Flingsley, when they discover he is the author of the book, and Brigid is killed by mistake when she goes to stop the crowd. The Canon and the schoolmaster are left bereft, but Brigid's sacrifice has shown the Canon his selfishness and pride, imparting to him at last the humbleness of the truly spiritual.

What sets Paul Vincent Carroll apart from the ordinary run of Irish dramatists is not his story, but his mastery of character, not only of the Irish peasant, but of the aristocrat. His exposition of the Canon is both subtle and powerful, ironic and mordant. The Very Reverend Thomas Skerritt is one of the few figures in modern drama who possesses the grand manner and yet is infinitely real. And his Brigid is not inferior. To Brigid appears continually her namesake, Saint Brigid, and though the Canon tells her these appearances are but visions, she never waivers in her faith. Fond as he is of her, the Canon considers her a little "touched," but at the end realizes that it is he who has been spiritually blind. Brigid is a saint, to Mr. Carroll the spirit of the true Ireland, not the Ireland visioned by Yeats as a triumphant and radiant woman, but an Ireland typified by a woman no less radiant, but in a spiritual sense, the sense of humble faith. These two figures set Mr. Carroll apart from all other Irish dramatists, and in a position a little more exalted, but in his depiction of the more earthy figures, the schoolmaster, the two curates, the characters of the town, he is equally successful. They have humor and racy tang.

Eddie Dowling has provided a magnificent cast. Sir Cedric Hardwicke is the Canon to the life, aristocratic in face, figure and manner, ironic, intellectual. And what a lesson in timing are his utterances! Only in his emotional outburst in his duel with the schoolmaster is he the actor. Sir Cedric has intelligence, technique, and is able to impart quiet feeling exquisitely, but that feeling does not flame into passion. But in such a distinguished performance this is a minor detail. Julie Haydon's Brigid is perfect. It is tender, spiritual, humble, in the highest sense poetic. Hers is one of the finest enactments the American stage has seen of recent years. Lloyd Gough's O'Flingsley also could scarcely be bettered. It is honest, forthright and appealing, Sara Allgood as the local spinster, Henry Sothern and Len Doyle as the two badgered curates, Gerald Buckley as the nit-wit schoolmaster, and Valerie Cossart as the Canon's niece are likewise admirable, and Peter Godfrey has provided sensitive direction.

Catholics may well be proud that the two most distinguished plays of the season are Catholic plays—"Father Malachy's Miracle" and "Shadow and Substance." In fact they stand head and shoulders above the rest. Let us hope that there is a real significance in this, that Catholics are no longer willing to let their position in the drama go by default. We have an inheritance and a richness of tradition unequaled. It is time it flowered in the English-speaking drama. (At the John Golden Theatre.)

GRENVILLE VERNON.

#### Monastery

GRADUALLY the eye of the motion picture camera is penetrating even the most guardedly cloistered Catholic communities, to bring to the outside a pictorial story of the realization of a spiritual ideal as sought by those so cloistered. In a preceding film, "Cloistered," already shown widely in this country, the camera told of life in the nunneries. Now it embraces the so little known monastic life of the Trappists, and of both the Great and Little Saint Bernard Monasteries in Switzerland.

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When a Catholic motion picture bears such authentic documentation as that carried by "Monastery," enjoyed such cooperation as that extended by its frocked subjects, and was molded so expertly by those responsible for its technical construction, it can hardly fail to gain expressive commendation. His Eminence William Cardinal O'Connell, Archbishop of Boston and dean of the American hierarchy, to whom "Monastery" is dedicated, with permission, has said that "'Monastery' is very beautiful."

There have been many shabby attempts, admittedly, to portray by photoplay either religion or the religious. "Monastery" is on the other side. It has strong spiritual inspiration, definite educational enlightenment and an interest that never lags.

Months were spent by that able French director, Robert Alexandre, to induce the Trappists to participate. Finally, when they consented, it was only with the agreement that there be no staging, no "retakes," and that the filming be made around the Trappists' home surroundings and during the normal course of their everyday. The results are impressive indeed, as the camera travels around

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their monastery in France. Its name cannot be divulged, also by agreement, but it typifies the living within the locked gates of all of the fifty-seven other Trappist monasteries in the world with their 3,000 cloistered inhabitants.

There is a musical score by the Frenchman, Remoue. Inspiration for both the picture and the music came from the poem of "The Monks," by Emil Verhaeren, which was translated by Father Thomas B. Feeney, S.J. An introduction and narration, done in Boston by Father Michael J. Ahern, S.J., is both informative and scholarly. George Kraska is responsible for the presentation in this country, and World Pictures Corporation, of 729 Seventh Avenue, New York, is distributing.

All and sundry are to be commended for whatever their participations in bringing out a motion picture that is both simple and sincere, illustrative of monkish ways as no other pictorial document has ever been, and eloquent both in its action and contemplation of a strange and mystical beauty. The forceful and vivid spiritual zeal of the "Order of Reformed Cistercians of Our Lady of La Trappe" has not been doubted. The motion picture "Monastery" verifies it. Effective in contrast is the earlier section of the film which describes the noted philanthropies of the Augustinian monks of St. Bernard.

JAMES P. CUNNINGHAM.

## Communications

THE VOCATION OF LIBERTY

Washington, D. C.

TO the Editor: "The Vocation of Liberty" in the January 14 issue of THE COMMONWEAL must have been written as a joke.

In all France there is not one piece of former Church property which has not been "sequestered" by the government. All the churches have been turned over to the Beaux Arts; and not one can be repaired, no matter how necessary the repairs may be, even though the pastor has the money in his pocket, without permission by the official. In consequence there are more than 1,600 villages in France with no church, no pastor. In every diocesan town you will find the bishop's former residence turned into a Musée, the garden into a public park, the seminary a barracks for soldiers.

The big joke upon the government happened after the Carthusians had been expelled. The lay Brothers of Chartreaux made the far-famed Chartreuse, the afterdinner liqueur. After the Carthusians had been expelled and had gone to Spain, the government had the bright idea to make Chartreuse as a government product. However, the sham Chartreuse would not sell. The Carthusian buildings are in one of the poorest spots in all France, and without the monks and their Chartreuse the entire district starved; so that the inhabitants plastered the roads with signs: "Give us back our Chartreux." The government then had to undertake the support of the entire district. After some years of this the government tried hard to make it a tourists' resort; but that failed. Then they, finally, begged the monks to come back. At last the Carthusians are back in their old monastery, making true Chartreuse again and, as before, supporting the people of the district.

France is more in private business than any other country except Soviet Russia, and the International Freemasons who have controlled France for many years keep themselves in power by the business employees' votes. However, under French liberty, if an employee goes to church he or she loses the job. Before the war the officers in the navy were spied upon. If their families went to church, there was no promotion for them.

Have you examples enough of French liberty? I could give you more, but why waste time and paper?

France richly merits the ruin which stares her in the

HENRY B. BINSSE.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

O the Editor: The recent paper by François Mauriac is the most enlightening work I have read on the present state of affairs in France. With such vital literature as this appearing regularly in European periodicals, it seems strange that the American Catholic press does not publish translations of these magnanimous articles more frequently.

The Catholic revival has produced many brilliant writers in Europe. Men such as Maritain, Mauriac, Blondel, Wurst, Adam, et al., are burdened with the responsibility of keeping Europe Catholic. And in times such as this, it is no little undertaking. These writers are the life-line of Catholicism in Europe and they deserve wider recognition in the United States. It is time some Catholic journal realized this.

LAWRENCE KING.

#### RIGHTS AND LEFTS IN MEXICO Mexico, D. F.

O the Editor: I have just noticed the exception which Mr. Harry Sylvester takes (in your issue of January 14) to some of the things I had to say about General Cedillo in my article "Rights and Lefts in Mexico," published in THE COMMONWEAL for December 10.

In reading over my article, I can readily understand that Mr. Sylvester might have thought me to be more friendly to Cedillo than is actually the case. If he follows THE COMMONWEAL regularly he would know that I have written of the general before. I never have and did not intend in the recent article to present him as the "Catholic hope" in Mexico; I simply wanted to clarify his position in leaving the Cárdenas government and to show how Lombardo tries to maneuver out of position every man who refuses to go "whole hog" on the C. T. M. Communist program.

In using the term "conservative" I limited my discussion to those within the Cárdenas orbit. The real conservatives have no power in Mexico, in the sense that they could start a revolution with any chance of success. Cedillo, it is my belief, would lose more than he would gain by revolting alone. Let us not forget that the Mexican army has been quite loyal to Cárdenas and if he tapers off in his Leftist attitudes, as seems to be indicated by recent statements, I see no reason why it should desert him in favor of Cedillo.

As for the means Cedillo has used to stay in power, I think Mr. Sylvester would find it difficult to name a governor or jefe politico since 1913 who has not ruled almost entirely in a ruthless, bloody fashion. Some are worse than others; I believe Cedillo belongs in the first group.

Let me add one more thought before I close. Mr. Sylvester should not get too excited over the "unobjectivity" of Catholic magazines when they "get on the subject of Left and Right." Since when have our opponents gone out of their way to be nice to us? What Catholic magazine or newspaper could be published in Mexico today and carry even the slightest criticism of Cárdenas, his government, Toledano, Stalin, Russia, or Communism? Why is it that we Catholics must always be "objective," "cool," "calm," etc., while the other side murders us and refuses even a polite apology if we get "excited"? The next time Mr. Sylvester is in Mexico I should be very happy to see and talk to him. There are a few things he could learn here that would make his "objective attitude on Left and Right" seem just a bit out of proportion to the truth.

RANDALL POND.

#### AN AMERICAN CATHOLIC VERSION

Cleveland, Ohio.

O the Editor: May I call your attention to a few points in Father Parsons's review of "The New Testament: A New Translation from the Original Greek," which appeared in THE COMMONWEAL for January 7, 1938? Some misunderstanding might result from the following statements:

- (1) "Our American bishops in 1935 decided on a new edition or revision of the New Testament for this country." I wish this were true. The decision is so far merely that of the Episcopal Committee on the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine, and the revision is being made for the study clubs organized under the Confraternity.
- (2) "Father Spencer's translation . . . is perfectly fitted to be an authorized American Catholic version." As far as its language and fidelity to the original are concerned this version is indeed excellent. It cannot, however, aspire to "authorization" since it is taken from the Greek text.
- (3) These statements, following one upon the other, might leave the impression, without Father Parsons intending it, that this version of Spencer's is the result of the bishops' decision. The revision being done for the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine is still in progress and may not appear for another year or so. It has for its basic text the Vulgate, the official text of the Church, and if acceptable in all respects may eventually become the authentic New Testament for this country. This may help answer the question with which Father Parsons concludes his review: "Will this or any other version ever be recognized as our official text?"

This does not in any way intend to depreciate the new version here in question. The work is scholarly and yet readable. Without doubt it will increase the understanding of the message of the New Testament, and this, with its other merits, should win for it a wide circulation.

> REV. WILLIAM L. NEWTON. Secretary of Editorial Board for Revision of the New Testament.

#### PEACE IN CHRISTENDOM

Emmitsburg, Md.

TO the Editor: Though I am, of course, in general agreement with the content and the spirit of the editorial, "Peace in Christendom," which appeared in your issue for January 28, I wish to protest against the expression "perhaps beaten" in the sentence, "The scattered, timid and perhaps beaten forces of Christ must unite." The commission, "Thou art Peter, and on this rock I will build my church," was immediately followed by the Divine guarantee, "and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." We must therefore never for an instant admit the possibility of defeat, unless it be in the sense of the proverbial Englishman who loses every battle except the last.

If there is among us any timidity now, it is the natural result of the sloth and complacence that have been the besetting sins of American Catholics for a long time. The regimentation of piety is all very well, but it has unfortunately been accompanied by a lack of spiritual distinction. Our people frequent the sacraments regularly, for which we should be grateful. But this regularity is liable to degenerate into routine and to be without much fervor. What we need is a little persecution and a few martyrs, though I suspect that at the first sign of anything of the kind there would be wholesale defections from the Faith. In the end, however, such a testing of our fiber would do us a world of good.

The threat of totalitarianism in its various forms need not dismay us. The Church is not dependent upon democratic institutions, although democracy is, of all political systems, the one most consonant with Catholicism. Apart even from the divine vitality of the Church and its ability to survive the impending attack, I cannot believe that totalitarianism will be permanently acceptable to mankind. It derives its strength from despair and will die a natural death when the world emerges from its present hysteria.

Need I point out that the most serious condition Catholics can get into is despair, or even doubt, as to the ultimate triumph of the Church? I am sure that the writer of your editorial wished to inculcate nothing of the sort and that his "perhaps beaten forces of Christ" was a mere inadvertency. But as it is among complacent people that panic most easily springs up, and as we are now in urgent need of begirding ourselves with courage, the phrase is only too likely to accentuate the defeatist mood which is perhaps the greatest of our immediate dangers.

THEODORE MAYNARD.

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## Books

## The Pope of Catholic Action

Pope Pius the Eleventh, by Philip Hughes. New York: Sheed and Ward. \$3.00.

BORN in 1857, of lower middle-class origin, in the small, semi-industrial town of Desio ten miles north of Milan, Ambrógio Damiano Achille Ratti entered the Preparatory Seminary of St. Peter Martyr in Milan at the age of ten, and at twenty-two was sent to the College of the Lombards in Rome. There he was ordained to the priesthood in 1879 and three years later made three times a doctor, in law, theology and philosophy. Returned to Milan, he became chaplain to the nuns of the Cenacle and instructor in the seminary. The former post held him for thirty-two years, but meanwhile, in 1888, he was made a doctor of the Ambrosian Library.

He became prefect of that illustrious house of learning in 1907, and in the year of the Great War Benedict XV called him to Rome to head the Vatican Library; from which activity he was suddenly withdrawn in 1918, to be launched—at the age of sixty-one and after more than thirty years of a life immersed in books and manuscripts—upon an entirely new career of diplomacy and ecclesiastical statesmanship, which carried him in four swiftmoving years to the papal throne. Today he is on the threshold of the nineteenth year of a pontificate which Father Hughes, in this most interesting book, affirms to be "amongst the most important of the last three hundred years."

Nor can it be doubted that this very cautious judgment will be confirmed as time goes on and Pope Pius's reign is seen in longer historical perspective. Every organ of the Church, from cloistered contemplative to the manifold forms of Catholic Action, has felt the stimulus of his spirit and the force of his energetic hand. "Wonderfully balanced," said an American cardinal commenting on his election in 1922, and this has been so true a characterization not only of the man but of his reign that one hardly knows what to select as the note of central emphasis. When the tiara came to him he saw his main task in the restoring of world peace, the continuation of Benedict XV's unfinished mission. And doubtless all his activities may come under that head.

But among these what stands out? Not any one but many. There is the solution of the Roman Question and an astute diplomacy for securing the legal position of the Church in a laicized and state-idolatrous Europe. There is a vast expansion of the mission field and a renewed effort to overcome the eastern schisms. There has been an intensification of cloistered spiritual life. There has been an unprecedented enlistment of the laity in the apostolate of the hierarchy. There has been a confiding intimacy, in measure hitherto unknown, between the Pope and the faithful throughout the world. There has been a great battle against neo-paganism and barbarism and a great driving home of the truth that the Faith is the one sure guardian of Europe's authentic civilization; and at the

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same time there has been greater emphasis than ever upon the cognate truth that the Church is Catholic and universal and not essentially European.

All these, together with a bold and adventurous spirit of modernity in the application of Catholic truths to contemporary social, economic and moral problems, are the outstanding characteristics of the current pontificate. And when we see them pointed out, in panoramic view, as in this book, we perceive very clearly that in spite of Bolshevik, Trotzkyite, Anarchist and Nazi, the Church today is not reeling from the blows of its enemies but has the offensive all along a vastly extended battle-line.

Father Hughes does not pretend to have written either a biography of the Pope or a history of his reign, for he knows that "the presentation of contemporary history is an all but impossible task except for those who are themselves making it." But in his brief interpretation of a living man and of recent events, he has been able to give us a very well-rounded view. And although his data is limited he has helped to explain the one-time Achille Ratti in the light of his formation in the Italian historical scene of the sixty-odd years before 1922.

We see him who is to be our Pope come of age in that desolate period of Italian history when the nation was so greatly estranged from its spiritual chieftain and the noble spirit of the Risorgimento had given way to the decadence of materialism and Masonry. All through that time he lived, suffering not only as priest but as patriot, but never in bitterness, never in spirit of reaction, always in hope for the day when his country would overcome the schism within its soul. And it was therefore most fitting that until the end of the war, in which the new Italy was born, his life should be hidden in cloister and library. Indeed his biography may some day be written as symbolic of his country's long agony ending at last in joyful rebirth of the spirit of religion and religious patriotism. For it is not the Duce of Fascismo but the Pope of Catholic restoration who best exemplifies the resurrection of the authentic genius of Italy.

Ross Hoffman.

## Metaphysics

The Unity of Philosophical Experience, by Etienne Gilson. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.75.

THE PRESENT work comprises the William James lectures delivered at Harvard University during the winter of 1936. That the history of philosophy is not a mélange of unconnected ideas, but rather that it manifests a certain continuity and teaches some definite lessons, is the central thesis of the book. The work will be read with interest by the specialist. The non-specialist should forthwith consign any superficial but best-selling "Stories of Philosophy" that may be lying around to the rubbish heap, and concentrate upon this eminently worth-while volume. It is not always easy reading, but the intellectual effort expended to understand it will not be regretted.

Gilson selects a number of philosophical systems from the medieval and modern periods to prove (among other points) that the great problems of metaphysics cannot be solved in unmetaphysical ways. Abelard tried to solve the deepest problems of reality by means of pure logic, and failed magnificently. Other medieval thinkers (Christian and Arabian) resorted to the theological approach with like result. Ockham introduced psychologism. The modern experiments—Descartes with his preference for mathematics as the instrument of philosophical investigation, Kant with his physics, Comte with his sociology—merely attest to a recurrent tendency, which in each instance led to the breakdown of philosophy and to a corroding scepticism affecting all fields of knowledge.

But the history of philosophy is more than a recount of great minds painstakingly but tragically attempting to probe into the mysteries of nature. It also demonstrates a persistency of effort in the face of scepticism, and indicates the key of solution. The problem of being, rightfully declares Gilson, can be solved only in the light of the first principles and concepts of being. The scandal of history is that thinkers of great genius have so continually ignored this all-important point of departure. Thomism, bearing witness to the primacy of being in thought and in reality, justifies its claim to truth and fecundity.

The book is well-written as a whole. Occasionally the style is too racy for a serious work (e.g., "Having knocked out his professor in the second round, Abelard etc."), but prevailing literary fashions can easily explain, if not justify, these lapses.

FRANCIS E. McMAHON.

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#### Avarice

The Moon Is Making, by Storm Jameson. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$2.50.

The Third Hour, by Geoffrey Household. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. \$2.50.

THESE are both novels with ideas; plot and character in each are made to work in the service of a general notion. Miss Jameson, a practised novelist with the professional's feeling for her material, subordinates character less to idea than does Mr. Household. In character lies the chief virtue of her book, and, while on reflection one is not likely to grant that her people are "real" in any of the senses, good and bad, in which that word is used in speaking of the characters in novels, still one sees that they follow a consistent inner logic and are memorable exemplars of it.

Frequently, it is true, they are a little too consistent, and move with Miss Jameson's skill rather than with their own volition, and this skill, though admirable enough in itself, some might hold suspect as being founded on a sour view of human nature. But the authoress does not look on man as entirely unregenerate: her hero, to be sure, comes to grief opposing mankind's stupidity and hardness of heart, but the creed which he preaches, and to which Miss Jameson presumably in some measure subscribes, is the familiar one of humanitarianism. Handel Wikker rejects his post as a priest in the Anglican Church in the Yorkshire fishing village of Wik, feeling that he can better devote himself to the pursuit of truth and goodness

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outside the forms of organized religion, and the book is concerned with this search and, incidentally, with the lives of his base and avaricious relatives. In the end, Handel decides that the world corrupts, and its corruption, in his view, takes almost exclusively the form of wealth. This is the message he gives to the world (or Wik), and the world despises and rejects him for it.

The parallel Miss Jameson is drawing should be obvious. How close she intends it to be, it is hard to say; and she is wise enough to force no too evident conclusion. Still one may reflect that though the prophets have been stoned, some of them have been false prophets, and the matter of the prophecy is as important as the stoning.

Mr. Household also teaches that wealth corrupts. He does this with considerably less skill than Miss Jameson (this is his first novel) and his characters are more plainly derived from the well-worn grab-bag of fiction. Through the actions, and the lengthy dialogues, of his exotic and cosmopolitan people, Mr. Household offers a secular faith with two chief articles: to despise wealth, and to exalt honor. To realize these things, his people found a sort of monastic order, which dispenses with the customary disciplines of such orders but dedicates itself to the contemplation of honor, disinterested service, and good wine -and such action for the reform of our evil world as will follow on this contemplation.

This, plainly, is a pretty naïve conception, and Mr. Household, perhaps aware of some of its shortcomings as the stuff of fiction, adds by way of compensation some well-handled scenes of action and a cast of characters which will cause delight in Hollywood and thereafter, perhaps, throughout the land. He, like Miss Jameson, leaves his conclusion rather vague: he gathers his Communist, Jew, Fascist, Catholic, South American adventurer, etc. in the pursuit of the Cause, then leaves the reader with a closing scene of symbolism which may be interpreted in a number of ways.

Miss Jameson offers a book saturated in an atmosphere reminiscent of the Brontës, Julian Green and T. F. Powys, but with additional touches quite her own, Mr. Household is an international adventure along Oppenheim lines, but with a high and serious purpose. Both books, I think, are to be enjoyed if not taken too seriously.

GEOFFREY STONE.

### Before the War

Farewell Spain, by Kate O'Brien. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. \$2.50.

LOVER of the lovely Spain of the days before the A present tragedy here looks back upon that time that now seems so terribly remote. Nor is it a two-weeks tourist glance at the high spots but fond delving into the real Spain of Coruna, Santander, Burgos, Santillana, Avila and many another out-of-the-way corner. It is well that this record is set down in the midst of the many on Spain in the business of murdering Spain. It will make the world's understanding of its loss the better realized in a way no catalogue in the Baedeckers or Blue Guide can possibly convey.

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pages is upon him that such it will not be. One must see how heavy is the responsibility of both sides in today's death struggle. And though one may not entirely agree with the strictures the author pronounces upon the followers of General Franco, nor find himself able to follow her mental processes whereby she is able to place Saint Teresa among the Communists, were this distinguished daughter of Avila alive today, we can all nevertheless hope she is a true prophetess when she predicts that in the Spain of a better future day we shall find neither a Communist nor a Fascist state. For such is the genius of this people that neither oppressive economic or political tyranny can long hold them. May the "blundering Caesars" be merely the instruments and not the rulers of the destiny of that Spain to come and the author's vision of a "loosely linked federation of small democratic states all governed for external purposes from a center, but internally run on regional, distributive principles" be a true one.

Arriba, Espana-one must hope while the spirit of these

CHARLES A. HART.

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## An Exquisite Poet

Shadow of the Perfect Rose: Collected Poems of Thomas S. Jones, jr.; edited with a Memoir by John L. Foley. New York: Farrar and Rinehart. \$2.50.

HEN Thomas S. Jones died in 1932 his poetry, though it was well known among the discriminating, was obtainable only in charmingly printed little collections issued for the most part by Thomas Bird Mosher. These, though they went into many editions, and became collector's items, still left Jones's work largely inaccessible. The present handsomely produced volume presents all his poetry, including some sonnets not previously published, in a format worthy of it, in which it will no doubt reach a wide circle of readers.

For there is no doubt that Jones was, because of his spirituality and detachment, a figure well nigh unique in modern America, and because of his mastery of the sonnet form, a poet assured of his place in the literary history of his country. Not that he used the sonnet form exclusively; his earlier work showed his power to command many verse forms, and a special skill in the Sapphic meter. But more and more the cast of his mind, which was that of a grave nobility, and the subjects that held him, seemed to find most complete utterance in the sonnet. A delicate splendor is in them all, a splendor that in many cases works up to a dazzling close. In them he celebrated the mystics and the saints and his other spiritual heroes, finding over them all the Shadow of the Perfect Rose.

John L. Foley was the most intimate friend of the poet, and was perfectly equipped for the editing of this volume, to which he has contributed a Memoir—all too short to my mind—and Explanatory Notes. Much of the spirit of dedication that was in the poet has descended upon his editor. The result is a volume admirable in every way.

JOHN KENNETH MERTON.

## Briefer Mention

Franciscan Almanac. Paterson, N. J.: St. Anthony's Guild. \$.75 plus postage. New for the year in the thirtysecond Franciscan Almanac are the remarkable Catholic chronicle for 1937 and about twenty additional features, ranging from encyclicals to summaries on banking and finance. The only storehouse of such material published, it carries one from a very specific approach through almost innumerable fields of Catholic and secular interest, all interesting or entertaining, and a surprising amount genuinely valuable.

Oliver Pollock: The Life and Times of an Unknown Patriot, by James Alton James. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. \$4.00. The winning of the Revolution gave us the Upper Mississippi. To date, the story of Oliver Pollock, who financed and supplied those campaigns, and brought about friendly relations with the Spaniards in New Orleans, has been missing. This book gives an interesting account of George Rogers Clark's expeditions, life in New Orleans and the Illinois country, and throws new light on a great many historical topics.

Westward, High, Low, and Dry, by Dorothy Childs Hogner; illustrated by Nils Hogner. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. \$3.75. An old Ford will go anywhere. Traveling in one through the Southwest insures a full, interesting panorama. Besides the desert grandeur, they saw the wonders of modern civilization which has conquered these barren stretches, and decided not to omit either while en route. The two-tone reproductions of Mr. Hogner's water colors give an added zest to a colorful tale of travel.

A History of the League of Nations, by John I. Knudson. Atlanta: Turner E. Smith and Company. \$3.00. An able defense of the League as an institution to promote the reign of law and order among nations. The League, the Permanent Court of International Justice and the International Labor Organization are fully discussed.

Life of the Venerable Francis Libermann, by G. Lee. London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne. 6s. A notable biography of the son of an Alsatian rabbi who, following his conversion, became the founder of the Holy Ghost Fathers in modern times.

#### CONTRIBUTORS

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